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EIGHT PAGES  
FROM SUNDAY'S  
**The New York Times**  
THE WEEK IN REVIEW  
INSIDE TODAY

# THE JERUSALEM POST

Wednesday, April 4, 1984

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In the public opinion polls  
— The Best Buy and The  
Best Product, 90% of the  
respondents chose  
**PLADELET.**  
See page 1 in Golden pages

## Security men seek attackers' local cell

By MICHAEL EILAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The security forces investigating Monday morning's terrorist attack in Jerusalem are now concentrating on two directions: the West Bank cell that helped the three-man team, and the organization that sent them to Jerusalem.

A large part of the investigation, especially in the West Bank — is being handled by the security services. At the same time, interrogators are continuing to question the two terrorists who survived the attack.

Police experts have already determined that the grenades used by the three men were from the same source as those used in an attack on

Jerusalem's Jaffa Road on February 28. In that attack the grenades apparently exploded prematurely, wounding the terrorist who carried it, in addition to 20 passersby.

In Beirut yesterday, the *al-Safir* newspaper identified the three terrorists as members of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The terrorist killed was named as First Lieutenant Mohammed Saleh e-Sheikh Kassem, 24. The two surviving members of the cell were identified only as Lt. Carlos and Lt. Fuad.

The security forces have determined that the cell comprised five persons — two of whom left Israel a day before the attack. One of the

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The day after, Jerusalem policemen, carrying Uzi submachineguns, yesterday patrol the capital's pedestrian mall, not far from the site of Monday's terrorist attack. (Rahamim Israeli).

## Traffic stopped across Awali, border

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ  
METULLA. — The Israel Defence Forces kept the bridges across the Awali River and the border-crossing points between Israel and Lebanon closed for most of the day yesterday, following reports that the terrorists who struck in downtown Jerusalem on Monday came from Lebanon.

Military sources said that two of the terrorists came from Sidon.

After the attack, orders were issued to carefully check all requests by Lebanese citizens wishing to enter Israel.

Almost all Lebanese vehicles are banned from entering Israel though the border checkpoints. Security supervision has increased on the Awali bridges, as well, but few Lebanese are crossing into Israeli-controlled territory, because of problems further north.

## NEWS BACKGROUND/Hirsh Goodman Lahad, Israel's man in S. Lebanon

Israeli defence planners have pinned a lot of hope on Major-General Antoine Lahad, the man who will take over command of the late Major Sa'ad Haddad's South Lebanese Army.

Lahad, 55, is a former regular Lebanese Army officer with an impressive military career behind him. He is considered one of the few men in Lebanon capable of taking over Haddad's 1,200-man army, and turning it into a fighting force effective enough to allow the Israel Defence Forces eventually to pull back most of its units from the western sector of South Lebanon.

On the negative side of the balance sheet, Lahad's motives for taking on the job remain unclear, despite his protestations of Lebanese loyalty. His acceptability to the different communities in the south remains in question, since he was not born in the area and has not lived there.

Despite these shortcomings, Israeli military planners believe Lahad is a man they can build on. They intend to double the size of his army over the next three to four months, bringing it up to around 2,500 men under arms, and to re-equip the force with modern weapons. They also intend to give the force military advisers and financial and training assistance.

Israel will continue to pick up the full tab for salaries (which will be the same as in the Lebanese Army), equipment, ammunition, training and administration.

The South Lebanese Army will be deployed in an area incorporating all of the area that Haddad commanded, plus several strategic points north of the Litani River. The force's primary role will be to prevent terrorist infiltration by manning roadblocks, maintaining an intelligence network in towns and villages, and to respond effectively to any local threat. The IDF, in addition to material support, will have Israeli units able to respond from inside Israel to potential trouble in South Lebanon.

## Arens warns Syria against waging war of attrition

Defence Minister Moshe Arens said yesterday that Israel would not be drawn into a war of attrition by Syria.

"We do not like wars of attrition. We won't get into a war of attrition," said Arens during a tour of Israel Defence Forces positions in Southern Lebanon.

If the Syrians try to launch a war of attrition, said Arens, "they must be ready to take any sort of reaction."

Regarding terrorist attacks from Syrian-controlled territory, Arens

said: "We have known for a long time that from Syrian-controlled territory, nothing happens without Syrian permission, or more accurately, that nothing can happen if they don't want it to happen."

The Syrians can put an end to these attacks if they wish to, said Arens.

He said that the message conveyed by Israel's artillery strike on Sunday against PLO bases inside Syrian-controlled territory, was received by the Syrians. (Itim)

## Labour court issues injunction Marine officers agree to call off strike

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Marine Officers' Union last said it will honour the temporary injunction of the Tel Aviv District Labour Court and order pilots to return to work this morning. The court order, requested by the Ports Authority, took effect at 9 o'clock last night.

20 ships in harbour, and kept three of them from sailing after discharging and loading. However, the union allowed the passenger ship Royal Odyssey, formerly the Israeli-owned m.s. Shalom, to sail from Haifa last night.

The union had also ordered its members not to sail Israeli ships from foreign harbours until further notice, but had ordered them not to stop loading and discharging.

Marcovitz told the news conference that the union now wishes

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The strike shut down the country's harbours yesterday.

However, the officers on all Israeli ships in port here and abroad will not sail, pending the continuation of the court hearing at 7:30 this morning.

Observers point out that the union's way of evading the injunction, while formally obeying it without getting the ships to move on schedule.

Union secretary Captain Ephraim Marcovitz told a news conference yesterday morning that the ministers of finance and transport had ignored their repeated pleas to discuss the shipping crisis with them.

The strike, executed through the pilots in the country's ports, caught

Herzog: Queen 'sorry' about Jerusalem attack

President Chaim Herzog returned from his private visit to England yesterday evening. He said at Ben-Gurion Airport that in his talk with Queen Elizabeth, the queen expressed her sorrow over the terrorist attack in Jerusalem and wishes for the recovery of the victims.

Herzog, who was on a private visit to England, lunched with the queen and conferred with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. (Itim)

## Rocket duels shatter Beirut cease-fire

BEIRUT. — Shells and rockets hit residential areas in both East and West Beirut yesterday in the most serious outbreak of violence since a cease-fire took hold last Thursday.

A television broadcast from a Christian area said one person was killed there by the shelling. Rival radio stations reported gunbattles in the derelict city centre and exchanges of fire in the mountains overlooking Beirut.

The fighting pitted Muslim militiamen in West Beirut against Christian fighters and loyalist units of the Lebanese Army in the east of the city. The main forces in the mountains are a Druze Muslim militia and the army.

Residents of West Beirut heard several shells being fired from their sector of the city and several incoming rounds slamming into residential streets.

A Christian radio station said four rockets fired from West Beirut had hit Christian suburbs and two other shells struck a Christian area near the city's port.

Despite the violence, sources close to the government suggested progress towards the formation of an all-party government and leaked news that a summit between the presidents of Lebanon and Syria could be held in Damascus next week.

## Inflation eats away value of tax revenue

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

The slump in tax collection continued last month, as the Treasury collected \$110 billion, 26 per cent less in real terms than in March 1983.

During fiscal 1983, which ended last week, the Treasury collected \$171.3b., 7 per cent less than in fiscal 1982.

Treasury officials conceded yesterday that it was this drop in tax revenue that led to the huge monetary injections of the last months. Since last October the Treasury has pumped \$175b. into the economy.

According to figures released by the Finance Ministry, its revenue from income taxes went down by 27

per cent in real terms and totalled \$174b.

The treasury said that inflation is eroding its tax revenue.

The ministry added that for the entire fiscal year, the collection from income taxes totalled \$141.3b., some 11 per cent less in real terms than last year.

The Treasury attributed this fall largely to the fact that the Lebanon war levy was lifted some months ago

and that the turnover in the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange had decreased with a resulting drop in revenue from levies on transactions.

According to the Treasury, revenue from customs and Value Added Tax dropped by 23 per cent, compared to March 1982. This income totalled \$135b. last month.

During the entire fiscal year, these taxes totalled \$129.4b., 1 per cent less than 1982/83.

## Knesset will vote today on elections

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Post Knesset Correspondent

The Knesset will meet this morning at 11 for a special Pessah-recess session to pass two private member's bills: one to dissolve the Knesset on July 23, and the second to lay down important procedural arrangements about party lists, candidates, election propaganda and election financing.

Although the original private member's bill to dissolve the Knesset was tabled by opposition factions, the coalition factions have since added their signatures, thus giving the legislation wall-to-wall sponsorship.

Because of the House Rules governing private member's bills that came up during a recess, the special session is being summoned by the government.

The Knesset factions hope to complete all the readings of both bills during the day. If this proves impossible, the Knesset will hold

another special session next week.

The Monday, July 23 election date was placed in doubt last night after Agudat Yisrael and the National Religious Party said that a Monday election would force the officials and committees organizing the elections to desecrate the Sabbath if they were to distribute all the technical material on time.

Elections in Israel are almost always held on Tuesdays to avoid this situation. However, in 1973, the Knesset bent over backwards not to hold the December elections on Tuesday January 1, since it was regarded as a Gentile holiday, Saint Sylvester's Day, and it assumed the risk of Sabbath desecration by holding the elections on the Monday.

There were no complaints subsequently about such desecration.

Law Committee chairman, Eli Kulas told the Aguda and NRP that the Likud would not object to Tuesday elections if the Alignment agreed. Some Likud men would

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

## Opinion poll may push Levy to challenge

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A new opinion poll, which gives the Alignment a lead of 18 Knesset seats over the Likud in new elections, may be used by Deputy Prime Minister David Levy as grounds for challenging Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to head the party list in the coming elections.

Levy supporters believe that he is a better vote-getter than Shamir, and that, in view of the opinion poll, the Likud now more than ever needs a vote-getter at its head.

At an hour-long meeting yesterday between Shamir and Levy in Jerusalem, the latter refused to commit himself to a date by which he will give his decision about whether he intends to run against Shamir. Levy said only that he had held long consultations with supporters and other party members, and now intends to do some thinking in private. He said that Shamir would be the first to know his decision.

The Modi'in Ezrahi poll published yesterday, conducted between March 20 and 27, gives the Alignment 55 seats over the Likud's 37 in new elections. This marks a narrowing of the gap between the two major blocs, as the last poll gave the Alignment 61 seats.

Shamir supporters argue that the large gap between the two parties could be advanced as an argument against causing internal strife in the Likud in the coming weeks.

Shamir's supporters are confident that a serving prime minister will not be unseated by the Herut Central Committee. They say that Shamir has indicated to Levy that if he mounts a challenge and loses, Shamir will not feel obliged to see to it that the losers keep their present position in the party hierarchy. This is seen as a broad hint to Levy that he has something to lose.

Levy is being offered almost any post he may desire in the party.

But the sources admit that given the Herut method of electing Knesset candidates, ranking their order on the list, the top man would have very little say about which slot should be awarded or denied to anyone. The Herut Central Committee chooses the candidates by secret ballot, and then, in further secret ballots, ranks them.

## Hefetz won't have to stand trial in criminal court

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir has decided not to bring criminal charges against Nitzav-Mishne Asaf Hefetz. Hefetz was suspended as commander of the elite Central Unit of the Tel Aviv police after he was heard confirming to several journalists a newspaper report about classified police intelligence information. Hefetz's conversation was recorded by a police wiretap.

Zamir's decision, delivered yesterday to the chief of the National Police investigations division, Nitzav Yehzekel Carthy, stresses however that he has not taken a position on the police's own prerogative to bring disciplinary charges against Hefetz in a special police court.

The police have begun drafting a charge sheet against Hefetz, to be filed in the police disciplinary court, the police spokesman said yesterday, citing Zamir's letter to Carthy.

The police recorded several of Hefetz's conversations with journalists after a paper reported that the police had received information about a planned attack on the Temple Mount a year and a half before the attempt took place. Hefetz confirmed the report. The police had apparently won a court order enabling them to tap his telephone under the Surveillance Law.

Zamir said he decided not to press criminal charges against Hefetz since there was no evidence that he was the source of the original leak. This was one of the few times efforts had been made to trace leaks by a public servant, and prosecutions for this offence are rare.

While welcoming the police drive to stop such leaks, Zamir said that the "cumulative weight" of his other considerations led to his decision.

## Military takes over power in Guinea

AKAR, Senegal (AP). — The military in Guinea yesterday announced that it had seized power and closed the borders of the West African country, eight days after the death of its president for the past 26 years, Ahmed Sekou Toure.

A proclamation read over on the radio, the state-run radio of Guinea's capital, announced the takeover, declared a curfew, and suspended the constitution and National Assembly had been suspended.

Telephone and telex communications with Conary were cut after

in neighbouring Senegal.

The broadcast said the "Military Committee of Rectification" whose members were not named, took power "to create the basis of a real democracy and avoid in the future all personal dictatorships."

It accused Sekou Toure's close associates and his family of trying to install a "bloody and ruthless dictatorship that ground down" Guinea's hopes.

Sekou Toure, the only leader impoverished Guinea had known since achieving independence from

domestic opponents by either jailing them or sending them into exile. He died on March 26 in Cleveland, Ohio during emergency heart surgery.

Louis Lansana Beavogui, the prime minister, took over as interim president in anticipation of elections for a new president in 45 days, as called for by the constitution. The National Revolutionary Committee in Guinea, which included the party's political bureau and other representatives, was supposed to meet yesterday to discuss choos-

## Researcher says U.S. Jews not disappearing

By CHARLES HOFFMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A Hebrew University demographer, Professor Calvin Goldscheider, rejects the prevailing view that North American Jewry is rapidly disappearing through assimilation. He also contends that intermarriage brings a "probable net gain" for the Jewish people.

Goldscheider, a sociologist and demographer trained in the U.S., reported the results of his latest research to a workshop for the participants in the annual meeting of the university's board of governors on the Mt. Scopus campus. The workshop also included lectures on the social, economic and political situation in Israel.

Forecasts of the demise of American Jewry, Goldscheider said, "are based on a Zionist ideological bias, not facts." He said his research, which will be published later this year, is the first to test the assumptions underlying the pessimistic demographic projections, namely that Jews who intermarry are

filiated to a synagogue are alienated from the Jewish community.

He found that between 60 and 70 per cent of North American Jews are organizationally affiliated. He found that the unaffiliated have developed other expressions of identity with other Jews, through their families or community involvement.

Intermarried couples, he found, attend synagogue less than couples where both partners are Jewish, but "the Jewish interaction of the intermarrieds through social life, friends and neighbours is similar to that of the others."

The same pattern was found when comparing Jews who live in a "Jewish neighbourhood" with those who do not.

"The Jews on the margins of the community are in fact quite Jewish," he concluded.

An examination of the religious identification of the non-Jewish spouse in intermarried couples and the education of their children

Jewish identification and continuity, Goldscheider asserted.

He also found that while many young Jews tend to stay single longer than non-Jews, their Jewish behaviour is similar to that of their married counterparts, and most of them eventually get married and have children. He also contended that the Jewish birthrate, which is usually seen to be sharply declining, is in fact equal to the rate needed to maintain a stable Jewish population, about two children per couple.

"The death of the Jewish family (in America) has been prematurely announced," he concluded.

Goldscheider argued that there are no reliable figures on intermarriage rates in America, and that the high rates frequently quoted in the news media are based on "fantasy." He has previously written that the American Jewish population will be stable at six million until the beginning of the next century, and that projections beyond that are not

reliable.



## The weather at major Swissair destinations

City	Temp.	Wind	Clouds
Amsterdam	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Brussels	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Geneva	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Frankfurt	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Hamburg	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
London	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Munich	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Nuremberg	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Paris	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Rome	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Vienna	10-12	10-15	Cloudy
Zurich	10-12	10-15	Cloudy

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Tel Aviv, 41 Ben Yehuda St. (03) 243350  
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Haifa, 2 Sea Road (04) 84655

## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Further rise in temperatures.

City	Temp.	Wind	Clouds
Jerusalem	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Golan	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Nahariya	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Safed	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Haifa Port	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Tiberias	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Nazareth	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Afula	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Shomron	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Tel Aviv	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
B-G Airport	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Jericho	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Gaza	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Beersheba	15-22	10-15	Cloudy
Eilat	15-22	10-15	Cloudy

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Acting President Menahem Savidor yesterday received the president of the Harry Kay Foundation, Arnold Lipson, and the delegates to the Fifth International Jerusalem Conference of Mayors.

Justice Aharon Barak was yesterday awarded the 1984 Ze'ev Zelner prize for his contribution to justice and society by Rotary International in Tel Aviv.

The Haifa Rotary Club will hold a business meeting at the Nof Hotel, at 10 p.m. today.

The "Jerusalem Rotary Club" will meet at the Alon Hospital for Handicapped Children at 1:15 p.m. today. Members and visitors will assemble at the hospital, Rehov Shmaryahu Levin, corner Olswanger.

## ARRIVALS

World Wizo President Raza Jaglom from Geneva.

Moshe Hess, Dr. Walter Hesselbach and Mr. and Mrs. Philip Berman, for the 46th annual meeting of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem Board of Governors.

Jesse Zel Lurie, editor emeritus of Hadassah Magazine, with Mrs. Lurie.

## DEPARTURES

Knesset member Abba Eban, for a two-day visit to Cairo as a guest of the Egyptian government.

## Panel urges ouster of top Knesset guard

Two members of a three-man body that probed the gate-crashing of the Knesset grounds by a disabled Israeli Defence Forces veteran last month have recommended that Knesset Sergeant-at-Arms Yitzhak Ben-Gal be dismissed. Israel Television reported last night.

Ben-Gal has filled the post since 1967.

The Jerusalem Post reported several days ago that dismissals were likely following the report.

## Scholar doubts Hiram's fleet sailed to Ophir

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Limited archaeological digs in Lebanon support the theory that the great age of Phoenician mercantile activity got under way only in the eighth century BCE, and not the 12th century as some scholars maintain. Professor James Muhly yesterday told the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology.

The congress, which opened Monday night, is meeting at the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel.

The University of Pennsylvania scholar said that this means there is no archaeological evidence to support the Biblical story of Hiram of Tyre's Tarshish fleet and the three-year voyages during the 10th century BCE to the land of Ophir.

Muhly's views were challenged by Israeli scholar Ephraim Stern, who said the two digs in Lebanon were only 100 and 120 square metres large, and were thus too small to draw conclusions from.

He also challenged Muhly for relating to Phoenician sites only in modern-day Lebanon and ignoring the excavation of Phoenician sites in Acra, including Achziv and Akko. These digs, he said, attest to a far more prosperous 10th-century

## HOME NEWS

### Girl killed, another hurt in two road accidents

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

A 10-year-old girl was killed when she was struck by an ambulance yesterday afternoon as she was crossing the street in Moshav Tzohar in the Western Negev. The girl, Pazit Waknin, a resident of the moshav, was pronounced dead on arrival at Soroka Hospital.

In another accident yesterday afternoon, a nine-year-old girl was seriously injured when she was run over by the rear wheels of an Egged bus in Netanya after alighting from it. It is believed that her school bag got caught in the bus doors as she got off and she was dragged along by the bus. The bus driver stopped the bus when he heard the girl's screams, gathered her up and rushed her to the hospital, where her condition was described as critical.

In Netanya, a Tira man convicted of driving without a licence and car insurance was sentenced yesterday to six months imprisonment in the local traffic court. The man, Hiji Yehi Salim, also had his licence

suspended for 10 months and he was fined IS25,000.

In Beersheba, a Negev Beduin was convicted by the local traffic court of driving a tractor without a licence in 1981 and his licence was suspended for 10 years. The man, Saleh Abu Hamid also received a suspended sentence of four months.

Despite budgetary cutbacks ordered by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad, IS3,600 million from various sources will be available for road-safety activities at the national and local levels in the new fiscal year. Moshe Amirav, director of the Road Safety Authority, informed Transport Minister Haim Corfu yesterday. Corfu is chairman of the cabinet committee on road safety.

The emphasis will be put on repairing the 13 extremely dangerous inter-urban highways, and — inside the cities — increasing protective measures for pedestrians.

High on the list of priorities is also the installation of traffic barriers between opposing lanes on highways, especially along stretches where head-on collisions have occurred.

### Youths vote to spare lamb earmarked for sacrifice

By DAVID RUDGE  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A lamb was spared earlier this week after a narrow majority of pupils in the Yemin Orde Youth Aliya village in the north voted against sacrificing it in line with the Ethiopian Jewish custom of slaughtering a young lamb to mark the first day of the Jewish month of Nissan.

The 100 Ethiopian children at Yemin Orde, an Orthodox institution, were split roughly down the middle about whether or not to kill the animal. But the majority of the children, aged 12 to 18, drawn from 16 other countries, voted to spare the lamb.

The vote took place just before a Bar-Mitzvah and Bar-Mitzvah ceremony for 30 of the Ethiopian boys and girls in the village, which is sponsored by Youth Aliya of Great Britain.

Dr. Haim Peri, director of Yemin Orde, said that the lamb has been placed in the village zoo.

"The slaughtering of a lamb is considered the ultimate expression of joy by Ethiopian Jews. We decided to put the matter to the vote both to test the attitude of the youngsters after their exposure to Western influence and also to stress the value of the democratic process," he said.

### 15 wounded in J'lem still in hospital

Fifteen of the 48 persons wounded in the terrorist attack in Jerusalem on Monday were still in the hospital yesterday. The condition of four of them was described as "difficult or medium."

Eight of the 15 are in Bikur Holim Hospital. They are: Michael Ben-David, Daliah Gratch, Yehudit Nadvorne, Haim Mendel, Elisha Cohen and three Finnish tourists: Emil Alonsli, Anna Lissia and Kito.

a girl of seven who underwent surgery.

Eight of the wounded are in Shaare Zedek Hospital: Martha Orgel, Shlomo Sultan, Yosef Khouri and a severely wounded man whose name has been withheld from publication at the request of his family.

Three others with "medium wounds" are in the Hadassah Hospitals in Ein Kerem, and on Mount Scopus. (Him)

## ELECTION BRIEFS

Jerusalem Post Staff

TEL AVIV. — Labour Party groups are urging safe slots on the party's Knesset list for this summer's election for former Mapai Secretary-General Arie Eliav and for outgoing Histadrut Teachers Union Secretary-General Amnon Abramson.

Eliav announced recently that he was re-entering the party, but Labour politicians made it clear to him that he could not hope for a safe slot because there were many other candidates who had to be given higher priority.

The pro-Eliav group will begin

circulating a petition throughout the country on his behalf. Their argument is that "it will not add to Labour's prestige if a man like Eliav has to run on a separate ticket because Labour cannot find room for him."

Leaders of the Alignment faction in the Histadrut Teachers Union want Abramson to be given a "real" place on the Alignment's slate. They made this demand to Labour Party Secretary-General Haim Bar-Lev yesterday, and reported afterwards that Bar-Lev agreed that a sector as large as the teachers should be represented in the Knesset.

### High Court upholds ban on Arabic paper

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The High Court of Justice yesterday upheld the Interior Ministry's decision to prohibit the publication of a new Arabic bi-weekly in Jerusalem.

The court ruled that there was "very good reason" for the refusal of the ministry's Jerusalem district representative to permit the publication. It rejected a request that the representative be compelled to reveal the evidence on which his decision was based.

Aida Ayub, a resident of East Jerusalem who studies at the University of Beirut, applied to the representative for permission to publish a bi-weekly called Al-

Manna, which would, she said, deal with "social, cultural, economic and political" subjects. The representative rejected her application, basing himself on Defence Emergency Regulations, not giving the reasons for his decisions.

Justices Menahem Elon, Yehuda Cohen and Elisha Sheinbaum, ruled in favour of the representative, stating that the Emergency Regulations free him from the need to explain his reasoning. The justices were shown the detailed evidence on which the representative based his decision, and ruled that "national-security considerations dictate that the information and its sources remain classified."

There has been no other controlled digs, because of the lack of sites that have not been built upon.

The digs at Sarepta and Tyre do not offer any evidence of imported wares that a mercantile trade implies. "In spite of much ingenious speculation," said Muhly, "there is still no convincing interpretation of those Biblical passages dealing with Hiram and Solomon and the Tarshish fleet. Nor can we locate the land of Tarshish."



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir entertained Barbra Streisand in the premier's office yesterday. (Rahamim Israeli)

### 'Yentls' won't have to hide at Streisand study centre

By JOAN BORSTEN

American film star Barbra Streisand dedicated a Jewish Studies centre named for her father on the Mt. Scopus campus of Hebrew University yesterday, pledging to an audience of more than 100 university supporters that she would devote herself to Jewish education.

"I'm so glad that in the Emanuel Streisand School of Jewish Studies women will be able to study Jewish thought and Talmud without having to disguise themselves as men," she added, alluding to her new film, Yentl, which is about a woman who dresses as a man in order to study in a yeshiva.

The \$1.5m. building includes lecture halls and rooms for research. Some of the money to finance it was donated by Streisand, her friends and her colleagues. The rest is to be raised by the American Friends of Hebrew University.

Interviewed earlier in the day, after she met briefly with Prime Minister Shamir, Streisand said that after visiting Israel she will not

return to Hollywood for next Tuesday's Academy Award ceremony, but will instead visit Egypt or Spain.

At a news conference following the dedication, she said that in Hollywood women have to work twice as hard as their male counterparts to succeed.

"A man's passion to make a particular film is much more respected than a woman's," said Streisand, "especially if he is a director or producer, fields which involve finances and leadership. But I feel that in the last few months Hollywood has given women more chances."

Speaking about writer Isaac Bashevis Singer, who has criticized her film, Streisand said gently that his reaction disappointed her, but that in fact she had not expected him to like her version of his story.

"I couldn't accept some of the things he wrote," she noted, "such as the scene where Avigdor asks Yentl if she is a man or a woman. In the Singer version, Yentl replies: 'Neither.' I didn't want to make a film about a eunuch."

### Visiting mayors condemn terror attack

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Twenty-five visiting North and South American and European mayors yesterday condemned Monday's terrorist attack in the heart of Jerusalem.

The mayors, who are spending their time here discussing municipal problems, issued the following statement: "We express our sympathy to our host, Mayor Teddy Kolek, and to the people of the united city of Jerusalem, for this unconscionable and barbaric attack against innocent civilians, many of whom were tourists."

"The PLO group or groups responsible should receive worldwide condemnation. They are criminals, not Freedom Fighters. This criminal act only increases our support for Israel and its people."

Among the signatories were the acting mayor of Famagusta, Cyprus, Prodromos Papayassiliou; the mayor of Zurich, Dr. Thomas Wagner; the mayor of Buenos Aires, Jorge Ernesto Gomez; and the mayor of Remagen, West Germany, Hans Peter Kuerten.

### Staff cuts may slow mail delivery

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Delays of up to 10 days more than usual in the delivery of mail can be expected as a result of a recent decision to reduce the number of the country's postmen by 9 per cent.

In announcing this yesterday, Asher Aharon, chairman of the postal workers' staff committee in Tel Aviv, predicted that the cutbacks will disrupt work in the Tel

Aviv postal-sorting house through which 70 per cent of the country's internal and foreign mail passes.

Aharon said that the postmen already have difficulty in servicing an average of 1,000 apartments each; and the reductions in manpower could lead to cutting daily delivery to once or twice a week. He called on the Civil Services Commission to reconsider its decision to retrench workers.

## LAHAD

(Continued from Page One)

Israel has made the government reticent to take any steps that could lead to even sporadic terrorist infiltration into South Lebanon, and to the possibility that Katyusha rockets will again be fired at Kiryat Shmuna. Such rockets would underline the failure of the Lebanese war in the eye of the electorate.

The government is afraid that, by pulling out before elections, it will give the impression of using the country's security for election purposes, which might be interpreted as a de facto admission that the war was unnecessary.

However, IDF officers, unaffected by political considerations, continue to hope that Lahad's appointment will enable a strategy in Lebanon, almost identical with the one developed between Israel and Haddad, which was in force until Operation Peace for Galilee was launched in June 1982.

**Ashkelon youth wins Bible competition**  
Binyamin Moskovich, a high-school pupil from Ashkelon, yesterday won the national youth Bible quiz, gaining all possible points.

### Shamir and Patinkin disagree on university budget cuts

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hebrew University president Professor Don Patinkin last night scored the government for making "excessive" cuts in the budget for higher education. He was speaking at the opening session of the university's annual board of governors meeting.

Following an address by Prime Minister Shamir, who left to attend to political business before Patinkin spoke, he said: "It is difficult to develop high standards in higher education, but it is easy to destroy them."

"Several years of continuous budget cuts, in which we will not be able to maintain these standards, will yield bitter fruits for many years to come."

In his remarks, which he read from a prepared text, Shamir had defended the cuts as a necessary part of the government's austerity measures.

Referring to Monday's terrorist attack in downtown Jerusalem, Shamir said that the terrorists "have tried for many decades to shake the tenacity of our dedication to a united Jerusalem as our eternal capital. They have failed because power on earth can change the living reality of Jerusalem as the heart and soul of the Jewish people."

"It was our capital and the source of inspiration for Prophets and poets for thousands of years. It will remain our capital forever, without the presence of foreign embassies."

## VOTE TODAY

(Continued from Page One)  
prefer Tuesday to Monday because it would give the parties the chance to continue election propaganda on television and radio till Sunday at seven p.m., instead of stopping the previous Thursday.

The two bills, which will have their regular first reading this morning but not yet been printed at the Government Printer yesterday afternoon, but they are expected to include the following points:

- Election lists to be submitted no later than May 31.
- Civil servants wishing to appear in the election lists have to resign no later than May 17.
- New lists have to place a deposit of IS500,000, instead of the previous IS20,000, in notes or a banker's draft.
- New lists have to be sponsored by 2,500 signatures instead of the former 1,500.
- Israelis aged 18 on election day

are to be included in the Voter Register.

These and other provisions may be altered after the regular reading, when the legislation goes back to the Law Committee, which has to prepare it for the second and third readings.

In any event, the Likud and the Alignment faction chairmen have taken and will continue to take the crucial decisions outside the Law Committee in tête-à-tête meetings. Yesterday's committee session was attended by only six Knesset members, none of them from the Alignment. The session lasted 45 minutes.

It was not known last night what proposals the Likud and the Alignment had already hatched out regarding election-propaganda rules and election-financing amendments. The two main factions steamroll through the committee with ease, no matter what the cost anything they agree upon.

## MARINE OFFICERS

(Continued from Page One)

to see only the finance minister, who has the last word on policy. He noted that the transport minister told a Knesset questioner only last month that Israeli shipping is profitable and not in need of aid, a reply that hardly fitted the present situation, he said.

The union demands from Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad the immediate appointment of a small official committee to frame a viable shipping policy. They also wish his consent to the immediate application of the early retirement fund for seamen, to which the men and the companies contributed. If applied, it would be possible to reduce ships' complements and open avenues of promotion, thus making Israeli shipping more competitive.

They also demand the imposition of income and payroll taxes on

foreign sailors serving on Israeli ships, at the rate paid by Israeli sailors. All the taxes should be granted to the shipping companies as a temporary subsidy to help them over the present crisis.

Marcovitz said that the fleet has been reduced from 110 ships to 60 during the past few years and that Zim intends to sell five more freighters to South Korea to put them with Korea crews.

Zim hotly denied this, as did the president of the Shipowners' Association, Shlomo Erel. He said that the companies had to sell off their tanker fleets at a great loss, as a result of the suspension of the transport from Iran. But tonnage freighters has actually gone up, as the companies have replaced old ships with bigger modern vessels. Furthermore, no Israeli officer is unemployed, he said.

### Fire chief charged with indecent assaults

TEL AVIV (Him). — Tel Aviv District Court judge Aryeh Segalson yesterday rejected the prosecution's plea to hold the trial of fire-station chief Uri Weisman behind closed doors.

Weisman is charged with committing indecent acts on some of his subordinates.

The prosecution entered the plea to protect the victims of Weisman's alleged attacks. But the court accepted the defence counsel's argument that as Weisman's name and the allegations and photographs of the victims had filled the newspapers for weeks, there was no

reason to now hold the trial in camera.

The prosecution has charged that Weisman began his indecent assault on his subordinates nine years ago. Prosecution witness Shmuel Shalom yesterday described how Weisman attacked him in 1976, on one occasion clutching his penis and on others sticking pins into his back, tweaking his nipples.

**TOTO.** — The first prize in the week's Toto lottery is IS60 million and the remaining prizes total IS40 million.

We deeply mourn the passing of

## LEAH (Lotte) DRACHLER

and convey our condolences to Sam.

Dora Aberbach Lederer  
Inge Lederer Gibel  
Karys, Eli, Gaby, Ron Azoulay  
Maurice Gibel

We mourn the death of our beloved

## GOLDA ROSE RAIMAN

The funeral will take place today, Wednesday, April 4, 1984 at 1:00 p.m. at the Nahariya Cemetery.

Her Husband: Kalman Raiman  
Her Son: Jacques Raiman and family

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of beloved husband, father and grandfather

## DAVID HEIJMANS

The funeral will take place today, April 4, at 2.30 p.m. at Ramat Hasharon Cemetery (Morasha Junction).

Judith Heijmans/Francken  
Ido and Ruth Heijmans and children  
Dov and Zehava Yarom (Heijmans) and children

The Head of the Youth Aliya Department of the Jewish Agency, the Director-General, the Department staff and its educational personnel

mourn the death of

## RECHA FREIER

who conceived the idea of Youth Aliya and saw to its implementation.

We share the grief of the family.

הכזה מן האל



## Israel to draw full allocation from Yarmuk

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Israel will shortly take all the water from the Yarmuk River to which it is entitled under agreements with Jordan. The agreements were made through the good offices of the U.S.

Israel plans to draw 60 to 70 million cubic metres annually.

Water-drawing will become possible within 18 months, when a fourth pumping unit, costing \$20m, is installed at Tabha. Water Commissioner Zerah Yishai announced here yesterday. He was speaking at the 12th annual convention of the Agricultural Engineering Association, at the Technion.

Yishai said that though the agreements were signed several decades ago, "for various reasons, including internal differences," Israel has not taken the 25 million it was allowed during the summer and "any desirable amount" during the rainy season.

Last week, a contract was signed with the Swiss suppliers of the Tabha pumps for a fourth unit, to pump the extra water south.

The commission has also decided to draw water from Lake Kinneret, lowering its autumn level by one metre to 213 metres below sea level in order to accommodate water from the Yarmuk and rainwater.

"These waters will save the aquifers along the Coastal Plain, which are being dangerously over-exploited, with the result that every six weeks another well runs saline," Yishai said.

He noted that Israel suffers from a chronic annual overuse of about 150 million cm. beyond the 1.85 billion cm. that are replenished.

Yishai also announced that if farmers wish to "assure at least their present limited allocation of water, they must help to provide the funds needed to develop new sources. The government intends providing no more than 40 per cent of the \$2 billion needed in the coming decade.

"One of these new sources is desalination. It is to be started soon at the Nahal Hataninim near Hadera, where a new process may provide water at 25 cents per cm. which is within the half-dollar economic maximum, he said.

## Accused kerosene injector denies causing wife's death

TEL AVIV (Iim). — The 34-year-old Holon man accused of injecting his wife with kerosene, yesterday pleaded guilty to the first crime but not to the second.

He pleaded that he thought his girlfriend would love him all the more when he had nursed her back to health from the illness caused by his injections.

Moshe Levy went on trial in the district court here yesterday accused of causing the death of his wife and severe injuries to his girlfriend, Susan Amouyal, 22.

In 1980, Levy's wife, Ilana, was treated for an abscess in her buttocks and sent home to convalesce. Levy is charged with injecting kerosene into Amouyal's breast, back and buttocks — but not her neck.

Lidsky explained that Levy wanted to marry Amouyal, who had refused him, and believed he would win her sympathy by caring for her injuries after he carefully inflicted them. He would not wish to cause her serious harm by also injecting kerosene into her neck, Lidsky argued.

## Tel Aviv police uncover child gang

TEL AVIV (Iim). — The Tel Aviv police have uncovered a gang of 11- and 12-year-old children responsible for dozens of robberies, thefts and arson attacks on vehicles. They, being under legal age, the children will be sent home and no charges are being filed against them.

The children, led by a 12-year-old, are all from the Hatikva and Argamim quarters of South Tel Aviv. Two are under arrest and the police are looking for three others.

## Suspected wife beater held for contempt

BEERSHEBA (Iim). — A 22-year-old Beersheba man brought to court yesterday for extension of his remand on suspicion of beating his wife was sent to jail for 15 days for contempt of the Beersheba Magistrates Court.

The man, David Elharar, is suspected of breaking his wife's nose and two of her teeth. The police representative asked Judge Shmuel Munzer to extend the remand on the grounds that Elharar, who has a criminal record, might try to influence his wife to retract her testimony against him.

Munzer ordered Elharar held for an additional six days and said to him: "You haven't succeeded in your marriage. You ought to get divorced." Whereupon Elharar said to the judge: "Get divorced from your wife, Your Honour."

The 15 days for this contemptuous statement will run concurrently with the six days of the remand extension.

DEVELOPMENT COURSE. — A one-year course on the educational and psychological aspects of young children's development is now being given to 25 health-fund and Health Ministry pediatricians by the continuing education department of Bar-Ilan University's School of Education.

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Hassidim roll out dough for matza shmura, which is made by hand, in a bakery of the Belz Hassidim in Jerusalem.

## Prosecution amends charge Two admit to transferring Anghelovici's body

REHOVOT (Iim). — The two employees of the Rishon LeZion burial society, David Ehrenfeld and Meir Agassi, both 34, admitted in court yesterday that they removed the body of Tereza Anghelovici from her grave in the Rishon cemetery. But they denied charges of treating her remains with disrespect.

After their trial opened yesterday in the Rehovot Magistrates Court, the prosecution announced a change in the charge relating to the

size of the grave in which they are charged with having buried the remains. Instead of the dimensions of 20 centimetres width by 120 centimetres length, the charge now speaks of a grave 70 cm. by 150 cm.

Ehrenfeld's and Agassi's lawyer, Ya'acov Hetzroni, told the court he would prove that the grave the pair dug was even larger than in the amended charge sheet.

The trial will be continued on Sunday.

## Histadrut plans for May Day

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut is aiming at the participation of a million workers in its May Day celebrations, education and culture department head Nahum Fassa told a news conference here yesterday. May 1 will be a national workers holiday.

"Stop the Collapse" will be the slogan of the five major rallies planned by the labour federation. Other meetings, rallies and programmes will be held by local labour councils and Histadrut-affiliated bodies throughout the country.

A sum of IS12m. has been budgeted for the major rallies, Fassa said. That figure does not cover the wide range of local activities, many of which will be financed by the local labour councils.

The five central rallies will be in

Tel Aviv, Beersheba, Haifa, Afula and Acre. The Beersheba rally will feature workers from the factories of Hevrat Ha'Ovdim, the Histadrut holding company, in the south, and the theme of the Acre rally will be Jewish-Arab co-existence.

The main participants in the Haifa rally will be members of the Na'amat women's organization. Na'amat head Masha Lubelsky told the news conference that the themes of the rally will be the inequality of pay suffered by women and female unemployment, which is one third higher than that of men.

Fassa acknowledged that some government supporters might try to portray the May Day demonstration as an attack on the government. "We have always attacked the government's economic policies and we see no reason to keep quiet now," he said.

## Katz killing suspects remanded again

ACRE (Iim). — The magistrates court here yesterday extended by 15 days the remand of two of the suspects in the Danny Katz murder case.

The judge, Faris Falah, said that he had no choice but to extend the remand of Ali Ghemaim, 20, and Samir Ghaname, 27, both from Sakhnin in Galilee, because there is reasonable suspicion that the two were involved in the murder.

Police inspector Ghanem

Ghanem denied that physical or psychological pressure had been applied on the suspects to elicit their confessions. He said that the two had also taken part in the reconstruction of the crime.

Ghanem refused to confirm or deny that the police had Danny Katz's clothes or the plank with which the 15-year-old Haifa boy was beaten to death after being sexually molested.

## IAI wins foreign undercarriage order

TEL AVIV. — Israel Aircraft Industries has recently won a contract to design and produce undercarriages for a foreign military jet trainer.

The company's house bulletin, Shehakim, said that top European companies had competed for the contract. It did not identify the country that placed the order or of the trainer for which the wheel

system was produced. The undercarriages are supposed to be light because they are dead weight during the flight and yet must be strong enough to absorb the impact of hitting runways at some 200 kilometres per hour.

The IAI-owned Servo Hydraulics Company is also designing the undercarriage for the projected Lavi jet fighter, Shehakim said.

## Ski moshav blocks road in economic protest

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NEVE ATIV. — Members of this ski-resort moshav on Mt. Hermon early yesterday morning blocked roads from the Galilee panhandle to the northern Golan to draw attention to their economic plight.

The members parked a fuel tanker across the road near the Banias nature reserve, sealing off

the main access route to the area. The police later hauled the tanker away with a tractor.

The moshav members say they have found they cannot make a living solely by operating their ski facilities, and are demanding aid from the Jewish Agency to establish additional sources of income, such as a hotel.

## Bottler, bakery fined for polluted products

TEL AVIV (Iim). — Insects, oil, soap and other foreign bodies found in bottles of soft drinks marketed by the Yafora company cost the firm a fine of IS52,000 in the local magistrates court this week.

Magistrates Court Judge Moshe Matz also imposed a IS10,000 fine

on a Bat Yam bakery for producing a roll with a worm baked inside.

In the first case, Yafora admitted responsibility in seven instances where customers had complained of illness after drinking its products or had presented evidence of foreign matter in the drinks.

## Ministry bars priest from leaving country

NAZARETH. — The Interior Ministry has barred the priest Fawazi Khouri, the spiritual leader of the Greek Catholic village of Fasuta on the Lebanese border, from leaving the country for the next six months.

No official explanation was given for the move. This is the first time Israel has issued a restriction order against a Christian clergyman.

Khouri, 40, was arrested four months ago at Ben-Gurion Airport as he alighted from an airplane from abroad. He was suspected of having held illegal contacts with PLO representatives in Europe, but was released after four weeks because of lack of legal evidence.

## Ephrat council heads drive to get Nazi

EPHRAT. — The local council is to organize the campaign in Israel to put pressure on the Chilean government to extradite Nazi war criminal Walter Rautf.

Inventor of the mobile gas van, Rautf was an officer in the SS and supervised the murder by asphyxiation of more than a quarter million Jews.

After the war, with help from Vatican institutions, he escaped to Chile. That country's governments have repeatedly rejected extradition requests from Israel and the German Federal Republic.

A world-wide campaign directed by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles seeks to have a million postcards sent to Chilean President Augusto Pinochet, demanding that he allow Rautf's extradition. Those who wish to get more information, or to obtain postcards addressed to Pinochet, should write to the Ephrat Local Council, Gush Etzion 90962, or telephone (02) 931225.

## Gov't debt forcing five Mishan schools to shut

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut-owned Mishan mutual aid organization announced this week it will close its five boarding schools after the Pessah vacation due to a lack of funds.

Mishan chairman Ze'ev Weiner told an emergency meeting of the organization's management yesterday that the government owes Mishan IS50 million, without which the schools can no longer be kept open. The schools — Onim in Kfar Sava, Alumim in Kfar Sava, Efel in Gan Yavne, Orim in Kiryat Tivon and Garmiyia in Jerusalem — serve several thousand children from disadvantaged homes.

SCOUTS. — The members of a Ramat Gan Scouts group on Saturday night raised IS146,000 at collection points in Ramat Gan and Tel Aviv to help pay for a liver transplant for 12-year-old Limor Eisner, of Givatayim.

## Committee nominates religious-court judges

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Rabbinical Court Judges Nominating Committee yesterday named 11 prospective dayanim (religious-court judges) to fill seven vacancies.

Rabbi Simha Miron, head of the Religious Affairs Ministry's rabbinical courts division, explained that the 10-man committee chose dayanim to fill five vacant positions and to replace two who are retiring.

The committee nominates the candidates, who are then appointed by the president.

It also decided to name candidates for a three-man court in Netanya and one position for Judea and Samaria, even though the Finance Ministry has not allocated funds for these positions. Miron noted that the court in Netanya was approved in principle more than a

year ago and there is even a building waiting for it.

The Jerusalem Post learned that of the 11, six are Sephardim and five Ashkenazim. One of those nominated, Rabbi Avraham Elmalih, had been one of a group approved by the then chief rabbi Shlomo Goren, even though they had not taken the regular examinations for rabbinical court judges. Elmalih is a member of Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg's Lamifneh faction of the National Religious Party, and was a strong supporter of Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Elihu.

Another three of those elected are linked with the Mercar Harav Kook Yeshiva in Jerusalem, which is headed by Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira.

Observers described the election yesterday as a victory for "Zionist circles."

## Jerusalem gets a new park

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Mayor Teddy Kollek yesterday took part in the dedication of a park in downtown Jerusalem less than 200 metres from the site of the terrorist attack on Monday, and said that such activities are the best answer to terrorism.

"Our answer to this awful and painful act of terrorism will be in strengthening the capital and encouraging co-existence between Arabs and Jews," Kollek said.

The new park, known as Frances Hatt Garden, is in the site in King George Street where the Knesset Menora was situated before the Knesset moved to its present home.

The park has been redesigned with stone paving and includes a small theatre for street theatre. It is to be part of the redesigned city

centre stretching up from the Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall.

Present at yesterday's ceremony were representatives of the Hatt and Kraft families, who donated money to build the park. The guests from abroad included Jacob Hatt, Robert Kraft, Jonathan Kraft, Marver, and Sheva Bernstein, Brandeis University president Evelyn Handler, Mr. and Mrs. Morris Cohen, Tom and Leslie Freudenheim, Holy Cross College president the Reverend John Brook, the Rev. Frank Miller, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Miriam Lavine, Sy and Rene Wapner, Rick and Poquita Morant, David Squire, Mr. and Mrs. Morris Portner, Uri Menashe, Mark and Sandra Chabot and the Zurich Mayor Thomas Wagner.

## Mollett paper plant fined for pollution

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Mollett Paper Mills of Nahariya, one of that city's major industries, has been fined IS177,700 for polluting the Nahariya shoreline.

The penalty was imposed by the Acre Magistrates Court on a complaint from the Interior Ministry's Sea Pollution Unit. The complaint referred to an incident last November, when passersby noticed a huge black oil slick hovering at the shoreline. The municipal engineer and local Interior Ministry representative were summoned to the scene and began tracing the source of the oil.

After more than an hour of investigation, the fluid was traced to a sewage line that runs past the Mollett plant. There, a leak was detected, with the oil pouring into the sewer from a heavy fuel-oil pipe used by the plant in its manufacturing processes.

By the time the leak was traced, more than 700 metres of shoreline had been polluted by the residual oil.

The stiff fine ordered by the court was requested by the Interior Ministry, since Israel is a full-fledged member of the Mediterranean Sea Anti-Pollution Treaty Organization, having signed the "Barcelona Convention."

TEL AVIV (Iim). — A 31-year-old Moslem man convicted of bigamy was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment by the Tel Aviv District Court yesterday. The judge also ordered an investigation to determine if anyone else committed an offence by helping the man obtain Shari'a (Moslem religious) court approval for his second marriage.

The offender is Darar Salame, of Kalsanawa village, who was found guilty of marrying Khairiya Muhammad Abdul Rahman on August 14, 1983 while he was still

married. Salame argued in the court that as a Moslem he is entitled to more than one wife, and presented a Shari'a court document approving his second marriage. Judge Arye Even-Ari rejected this argument.

In the Haifa Magistrates Court yesterday, 26-year-old Hasin Abed Majd was remanded for six days on suspicion of bigamy. Majd is suspected of marrying a woman in Beersheba in January while married to another woman in Haifa.

Moslem law permits polygamy, which Israeli civil law prohibits.

## 5,000 Lebanese enter Israel monthly

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ

METULLA. — Israel allows between 4,000 and 5,000 Lebanese to cross the northern border into the country each month. Security forces, following remarks by Interior Minister Yosef Burg suggesting that those who carried out the terrorist attack Monday in Jerusalem may have come from Lebanon, are to re-examine entry procedures.

Lebanese civilians can routinely obtain permission to enter Israel through the Rosh Hanikra and Metulla crossing points by applying at various Israeli Defence Forces headquarters in Lebanon.

Until a year ago, travellers could also bring their cars. But since it was found that some were smuggling in arms and drugs in their vehicles, almost all Lebanese have been obliged to cross over on foot.

stretch of Arava road between Hatzeva and Ein Yahav. At the last count, there were only 30 wolves in the whole area.

The death of the she-wolves, who had all not yet reached bearing age, severely hurt the growth potential of the area's wolf population.

## Fast drivers killing off Negev wolves

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — Fast driving is endangering the Negev's dwindling wolf population, the Nature Reserves Authority spokeswoman said yesterday.

Five she-wolves were run over in the past month along a 15-kilometre



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# No Sure Bets

## Salvador Vote Settles Little At Home or in Washington

By HEDRICK SMITH

**F**OR the Reagan Administration, which visibly raised American stakes and involvement in Central America three years ago, last Sunday's presidential election in El Salvador was both a vindication of policy and a cause for new infusion of American aid and assertiveness. But the immediate effects were less clearcut. Critics were inclined to pause and resist more aid at least until the election result was definitive—a runoff is required in a month—and were, at any rate, concerned about the signs of widening military activity and risks.

Senate liberals last week filibustered against Administration pressure for \$61.75 million in emergency military aid for El Salvador and \$21 million for Nicaraguan rebels financed through the Central Intelligence Agency. Notice of new American military exercises in Honduras starting this weekend and the recent mining of Nicaraguan ports by American-backed Nicaraguan rebels had already spread concern on Capitol Hill.

During a Senate debate, Democrat Jim Sasser of Tennessee disclosed that he had wrung a belated admission from the Pentagon that on three occasions since last November, mobile American training teams in El Salvador had come under hostile fire. Later the Pentagon, trying to play down the incidents, said the Americans had merely been at Salvadoran military compounds when they were fired upon, and were unharmed. Then, a Salvadoran Army colonel revealed that lately American C-130 reconnaissance planes had been flying over Salvadoran battle zones, radiating hot combat intelligence on enemy forces to Salvadoran commanders. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. asked the Foreign Relations Committee to investigate whether the Administration had violated the War Powers Act by not reporting the flights.

"The United States is actively participating in the prosecution of the war in El Salvador," protested Senator Edward M. Kennedy. "The Administration is slowly but surely putting our combat troops into harm's way, into a war in El Salvador. What next? Some guerrilla is going to shoot down one of those U.S. helicopters, the pilot will be killed or taken hostage, and President Reagan will go on the stump declaring that it is an act of war. One secret war in Nicaragua is enough," Mr. Kennedy declared. "One secret war is too many." Despite the warnings from the Massachusetts Democrat and others, a solid bipartisan majority voted 72 to 23 against imposing restrictions on President Reagan's possible use of American forces in combat in Central America.

Temporarily, that controversy overshadowed what the White House regarded as an important gain in Central America. For many months, the Administration has banked heavily on elections in Central America—elections in Nicaragua to push the Sandinista leadership toward democratic pluralism; elections in El Salvador to earn greater legitimacy for the American-backed Government and to install a leader who could break out of the stalemate with the revolutionary left. Neither set of elections may prove as decisive as the Administration hopes.

The Salvadoran vote was nevertheless a tonic for the White House. Although the turnout was down from two years

WASHINGTON



Voting in San Salvador last week took determination.

Gamma-Liaison/Larry Boyd and Roland Neveu

ago, President Reagan enthusiastically hailed the popular participation as "another victory of freedom over tyranny... and courage over intimidation." A delegation of 25 members of Congress came home impressed by the willingness of Salvadorans to endure all the obstacles to voting.

Yet what the Administration saw as its biggest political dividend went virtually without public comment—the front-running performance of José Napoleón Duarte, the Christian Democratic candidate. This eased what one official called the "nightmare" of victory by Roberto d'Aubuisson, the candidate of the right-wing National Republican Alliance, who has been publicly linked to death squads. He is such anathema to Congress that many take it for granted that his election would lead to a cutoff of American aid. Moreover, Mr. Duarte, an architect of land reform, an outspoken foe of death-squad violence, and an advocate of "dialogue" with the Salvadoran left, has become central to future Administration strategy, though officials decline to say so publicly right now for fear of being accused of interfering in the elections.

The Administration's strategy, as laid out last week by Fred Ikle, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, is to lure the less militant leftists into giving up rebellion and taking

part in legislative elections in 1985. "We seek victory for the forces of democracy, that is through negotiation with those who are willing to participate in negotiation," Mr. Ikle asserted. "Those who insist on using force to destroy democracy have to be defeated. They are convinced, dedicated people. You cannot talk them out of their goals." In this scenario, Mr. Duarte is the key figure to appeal to Salvadoran peasants and placate Congress, while the army seeks to suppress the insurrection. Even Administration critics like Representative Michael D. Barnes, a Maryland Democrat, say that Mr. Duarte's reputation is so favorable that "if he is elected President, it would change the atmosphere here; if he came up to Congress and asked for more aid, that would influence people."

But others, like Senator Christopher C. Dodd, the Connecticut Democrat, contend that the political dynamics of El Salvador cannot be altered that much by any election. They fear that Mr. Duarte would be prevented by the army high command and powerful right-wing economic interests from power-sharing peace negotiations with the left and might face renewed right-wing terrorism aimed at provoking a military coup to restore order. "The centers of power in El Salvador will remain the same the day after the election as the day before," Mr. Dodd said. "They limit Duarte's room for maneuver." In the interim, the Senate has given informal voice approval for more military aid for El Salvador, though that faces more obstacles this week, as well as considerable delay in the House of Representatives, quite possibly until after Congress reads the returns from the Salvadoran runoff election.

# Duarte Could Win at Polls, Lose a Nation

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

**O**NCE again, Salvadorans trudged for miles over the country's dusty roads and stood bravely in line to vote last week. Despite the slow count, it was almost immediately apparent that none of the eight Presidential candidates would receive the needed majority. The electorate was faced with a straight choice between two sharply opposing political attitudes represented by José Napoleón Duarte, the Christian Democratic leader, and Roberto d'Aubuisson, head of the far right Nationalist Republican Alliance.

Some United States officials acknowledge that the 1982 elections for a Constituent Assembly fell far short of producing significant improvement in the situation here. "What has changed since the last time," one said, "is that we're more involved, the army is in worse shape, and the guerrillas have a much greater presence." The latest elections have produced a lot of questions for Salvadorans to ponder as they prepare for a runoff, set tentatively for May 6, between Mr. Duarte, who led with about 40 percent of the vote, and Mr. d'Aubuisson, who had about 31 percent.

Whether, for example, talks to end the fighting ever take place will depend largely on two factors: who wins, and whether the military and the Constituent Assembly will let the talks take place. Mr. Duarte has promised a prompt "national dialogue" of all sides aimed at bringing an end to the war. Mr. d'Aubuisson insists he will end the war without dialogue, negotiations or "surrender."

If Mr. Duarte gains office, will he find himself stymied by conservative economic forces in control of the assembly and a military accustomed to having its way? If Mr. d'Aubuisson is the victor, can he or anything else provide the motivation and skill that the military has thus far been shown to lack? And will the United States Congress, which has little taste for Mr. d'Aubuisson, be willing to continue aid to a Government run by him?

## Rebels Seem Split

Another problem is the evident lack of coordination between the insurgents' political and military wings, raising the question of whether any future political deal will be respected by the people with the guns. At a news conference last month in Mexico City, leftist leaders—dominated by the political branch, but including some military leaders as well—announced that while they considered the elections a farce, they would not make them a military target. But a few weeks later, guerrillas were seizing national identity cards needed for voting and creating a power blackout of some 80 percent of the country on election eve.

Although American officials and the Salvadoran Central Elections Council tried to blame guerrilla action for a smaller turnout than in 1982, there was wide dissatisfaction with the way the election was run. Despite threats and heavy guerrilla activity, some 1.5 million Salvadorans managed to cast their ballots two years ago. This time, voters came up against a tougher adversary—a welter of anti-fraud rules that may have disenfranchised a quarter of the electorate. People were shuttled from voting table to voting table, unable to find the proper place to cast their ballots; many never found it and left frustrated and discouraged. Only between 1.1 million and 1.3 million people were estimated to have cast ballots.

For Americans, the sight of thousands of Salvadorans making such an effort to vote can be overwhelming. The Americans tend to forget that voting here is compulsory. People have been voting in El Salvador for years, even when the country was essentially a military dictatorship. The votes were easier to count then, since the winner was predetermined. The last two elections have produced, on the contrary, much uncertainty.

After the 1982 vote, for example, United States officials were stunned when all of El Salvador's rightist parties coalesced to form a power bloc that threatened to reverse the American-backed social and economic adjustments that had taken place and leave the Christian Democrats, favored by the United States, without a voice in policy.

It was only strong, behind-the-scenes warnings from the Reagan Administration and the Salvadoran military that kept the democratically elected Constituent Assembly from getting out of hand and naming a rightist—perhaps even Roberto d'Aubuisson, who had been tied to the country's notorious death squads—to head the provisional executive branch as well. What the presidential election will produce will depend on how the Salvadorans and the United States accept the result.

## A look at El Salvador

Population	4,917,000
Estimated potential voters	2.5 million
Estimated number voting last week	1.1 to 1.3 million
Armed forces manpower	
Army	30,000
Air Force	1,500
Navy	400
Paramilitary forces	10,000
Insurgents' strength	9,000 to 12,000
Civilian toll	About 50,000
Deaths in last 4 years	

# Major News

## In Summary

### U.S. and France Leave Lebanon On Its Own

The American pullout from Lebanon became complete last week with President Reagan's announcement that the United States was ending its participation in the multinational force. The 2,000 marines who had been standing by on ships since evacuating Beirut in early February were due to leave Lebanese waters, along with the battle group supporting them, and resume normal operations in the Mediterranean.

The French, the only peacekeeping contingent left ashore, also pulled out virtually all of their troops. Despite Mr. Reagan's insistence that the United States was not abandoning Lebanon, the Lebanese were essentially on their own with little hope of finding a political solution to the intercommunal fighting that was tearing the country apart.

The Americans suffered 264 deaths and the French 89 in their effort to stabilize the Government and promote the withdrawal of foreign forces. But Syrian and Israeli troops

continued to occupy most of the country, and the immediate problem for the Government was how to prevent the increasingly subdivided factions from killing each other, and a lot of civilian bystanders.

A Higher Security Committee under President Amin Gemayel appeared to make some progress in establishing a new cease-fire in Beirut after Lebanese Army units loyal to Mr. Gemayel and Moslem militia fought most of the week across the Green Line. At least 25 people were killed in the shelling. A separate cease-fire was in effect between a Sunni Moslem force known as the Mourabitoun and the Druse, who had been allies until they began fighting over turf.

The breakdown of that alliance helped to provoke the end of the pro-Syrian National Salvation Front, which included the Druse, the Sunni Moslems and Maronite Christians led by former President Suleiman Franjeh. Mr. Franjeh is opposed to Mr. Gemayel although the President is also a Maronite. Other Christian splits appeared. The Christian Lebanese Forces are unhappy with Mr. Gemayel because of his cancellation of a troop withdrawal agreement

with Israel. There were thus pro-Syrian and pro-Israeli Christians.

The few French observers left behind will help keep the peace at the single crossing point between Moslem West Beirut and Christian East Beirut. Fears for the safety of diplomats, journalists and other foreigners were heightened by the wounding of the French cultural attaché, Sauvageur Glizot, as he was walking to work. He was shot four times and was in serious condition. In the past few weeks, an American diplomat, an American journalist and an American teacher have been kidnapped and are still missing.

## Confronting the Meese Factor

President Reagan complained last week that House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. and other Democrats who have taken to tarring "sleaze factor" across the Oval Office door were being unfair.

But the announcement by Attorney General William French Smith that he was asking for a special prosecutor to thoroughly investigate his prospective successor, Edwin Meese 3d, seemed certain to sharpen the attacks, fair or not. Past investigations of that type have lasted as long as eight months, so it's possible the Meese drama might continue well into the homestretch of the 1984 campaign. Mr. Reagan, who last week accused his Democratic critics of

"practicing guilt by association," insists that he won't withdraw the nomination. Mr. Meese, who continues to serve as Presidential Counselor, maintains that he is innocent of any wrongdoing and thus will not step aside.

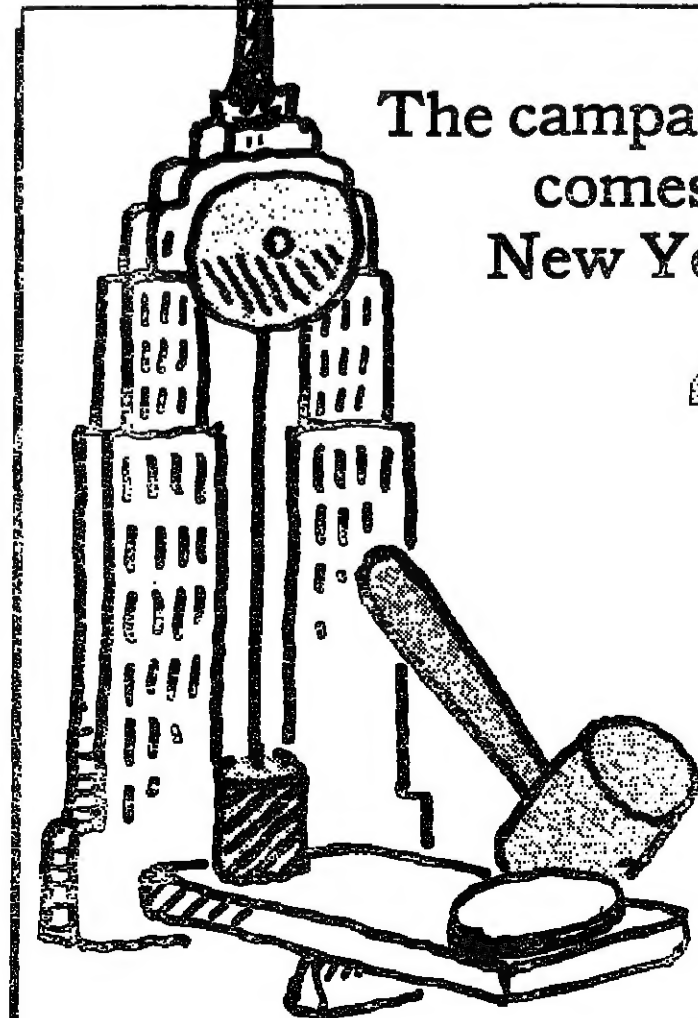
More than a dozen other senior Administration figures had faced accusations of improper financial dealings.

The Attorney General's formal request was filed with a panel of three Federal appeals-court judges. Echoing calls from Republican and Democratic senators as well as Mr. Meese himself, Mr. Smith asked that a prosecutor be directed to look into the matters that spread doubts among many members of the Senate during Mr. Meese's now-stalled confirmation hearings. These include Mr. Meese's personal finances, including loans he received from people who later got Federal jobs; a promotion in the Army Reserve that entitled him to faster retirement checks; and the question of what he knew about Carter campaign materials that appear to have been bootlegged to the Reagan campaign staff four years ago.

Under the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the judges are required to select a special prosecutor. Senior Judge Roger Robb of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, who will preside over the panel, said the counsel should conduct a "broad inquiry." The panel, he said, was expected to meet this week.

## The campaign comes to New York

4



Stuart Goldenberg



# The World



Bernardo Grinspun

## Evidence Mounts On Iraqi Use Of Gas Weapons

Even in a war as ugly as the one between Iran and Iraq, reports of Iraqi use of nerve gas on a limited scale have provoked horrified reactions. Last week, notwithstanding Baghdad's rejections of the charges, United States intelligence sources cited what they called incontrovertible evidence that Iraq had resorted to chemical weapons and was preparing to mass produce them.

The evidence that Iraq has built as many as five heavily fortified underground sites for the production, storage and assembly of nerve gas weapons includes documents showing the sale by a West German company to Iraq of an industrial laboratory ostensibly to make pesticides. The equipment can easily be converted to make poison gas. The West German Ministry of Economics identified the firm as the Karl Kolb company, near Frankfurt, which also manufactured such assets as chemical weapons.

Iran has sent thousands of youths and old men to their deaths in a vain effort to breach Iraqi defenses and is now reported to be massing hundreds of thousands of troops for an all-out effort. The United States has been sympathetic to Iraq but the prospect of stepped-up chemical warfare has officials at the Pentagon and the State Department deeply worried. If such warfare develops, "the genie is out of the bottle," a senior American official said. "Arms control is down the drain and we've got our forces completely at risk," he added. The United States has renounced first use of chemical weapons but the devices are so easily transportable that it would be difficult to monitor their spread to other countries.

The State Department confirmed past use by Iraq of nerve gas while the United Nations Security Council, without naming Iraq, unanimously condemned the use of chemical weapons. The United States clamped controls on the export of five chemical compounds to both Iraq and Iran. Another indication of Washington's concern lay in reports that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had been asked to provide "preliminary" studies of the feasibility of an American air strike on the Iraqi sites. They concluded that there were not enough aircraft in appropriate locations. Some in the Administration favored an air strike by Israel, similar to the one carried out in 1981 against an Iraqi nuclear plant, and were reported to have discussed the possibility with Israeli officials.

## Latins Help End Argentine Crisis

Latin American solidarity came to the rescue of debt-ridden Argentina last week, just in time to make the Saturday night deadline on interest payments due American banks. A \$500 million short-term loan package was put together after frenzied negotiation; Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Colombia, big debtors themselves, will account for \$300 million of it. Argentina dug into its reserves for \$100 million and \$100 million was contributed by an international banking consortium.

"The crisis has passed," Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan said yesterday. He said Mexico had taken the lead "in hemispheric solidarity" with the object of helping Argentina to be "an example of the democratic process."

The deadline was not so much Argentina's as that of banks in the United States, which would have had to declare a reduction in their first quarter earnings, under Government banking regulations, if no interest payments had been forthcoming by yesterday on some \$8.6 billion they have lent to Argentina. The

problem of what to do about Argentina's overall debt, which comes to \$47 billion when arrears on interest are counted, remains to be decided that country's newly established democracy and the world's creditors. Claims falling due this year alone come to \$28 billion, an impossible sum to pay.

Much of the debt will have to be rolled over. Mr. Reagan said a tentative restructuring agreement with the International Monetary Fund was expected in about a month and the United States would then make a \$300 million bridge loan to Argentina. The accord with the I.M.F. will require a commitment from Argentina to start reducing its huge budget deficits and put a brake on inflation. Up to now, with civilian rule less than four months old and still a bit shaky, Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín and the Economics Minister, Bernardo Grinspun, have had to proceed cautiously on austerity.

## One More Try, One More Failure

The 10 members of the European Economic Community returned to the negotiating table last week but their third effort at a budget agreement in seven months came to nothing. Once again it was Britain's demands for a cut in its contribution to the budget that caused the breakup, increasing concern for the future of Western Europe's great experiment in integration.

A summit meeting is scheduled for June. If there is no agreement by then, the organization faces bankruptcy in the second half of the year because planned expenditures will have outstripped revenues. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has thus far refused to approve more money until changes are in place, notably a reduction in the huge farm subsidies the community is paying out. Early yesterday, after an all-night session in Brussels, the agriculture ministers agreed to cut milk production as well as the general level of farm prices for the first time in the 20-year history of common agricultural policy. But angry reactions from farmers were in prospect.

Britain wants a refund to reduce a deficit of some \$1.7 billion it has been incurring annually in helping to subsidize other "countries' farmers. Financial concessions by the nine others had narrowed the gap to \$200 million, but when London said this was still too much, the others angrily withdrew their offers.

More than farm policy is at stake in the impasse. The 10 have pledged an effort to promote economic recovery by reducing many nontariff barriers that have impeded trade and by attacking technological backwardness that has helped to keep unemployment high. But the present division appears to be freezing these initiatives. The concern extends beyond the community — to Washington, for example, which has always backed European unity as politically and economically beneficial to American interests.

## Marcos Contends With a Ghost

President Ferdinand E. Marcos kicked off his campaign to retain control of Parliament last week with a murdered opposition leader very much on his mind. An issue likely to be prominent in the May 14 legislative election is how and by whom Benigno S. Aquino Jr. was assassinated as he stepped off a plane last August after three years of self exile.

Mr. Marcos started things with a rally in Manila's main park, which some of the 300,000 participants were paid to attend after being transported by Government buses. In denouncing his enemies, the President linked Mr. Aquino to a series of political bombings in Manila four years ago and said that in the past few years, Mr. Aquino's home province of Tawi-tawi had been the scene of "subversive" activity by opposition leaders whom he did not name.

The denigration of Mr. Aquino, who has taken on the stature of a martyr for the opposition forces, came during continued hearings by a special panel investigating his killing. Last week, the panel heard a recording of his last moments that tended to support allegations that he had been killed while still on the airliner's staircase and surrounded by soldiers. The Aquino family has accused the Government of having a hand in the killing and contends that Rolando Galman, the man the Government says shot Mr. Aquino as he stepped onto the runway, was set up. Mr. Galman was shot dead on the spot. The recording made by Sandra Burton, the Hong Kong bureau chief for Time magazine and a passenger on the plane, indicates a lapse of 10 seconds between the time Mr. Aquino walked through the doorway and the first shot. A re-enactment by panel members indicated it was impossible to get from the plane to the runway in that time.

Henry Ghalger and Milt Freudenheim

## Mozambique Is Maneuvered Into Neutrality

# Pretoria's Foes Feel Loss of Main Ally

By ALAN COWELL

JOHANNESBURG — For southern African black nationalists, Mozambique's independence from Portugal in 1975 was a source of vindication and hope. Guerrilla warfare had bested a powerfully armed, if numerically inferior, foe; the system, it seemed, was fallible; the masses, fired by "scientific socialism," had triumphed.

The vision now seems more ambiguous. Mozambican security agents last weekend raided the homes of activists of the African National Congress, perhaps the most significant of the continent's few remaining warriors against white minority rule. The search, which netted a variety of arms and led to the detention of several people, was a consequence of the nonaggression pact that Mozambique was forced to sign with white-ruled South Africa, its principal ideological adversary, on March 16.

Years of South African military pressure through a surrogate insurgent movement, the Mozambique National Resistance, had left President Samora Machel little choice. The raids signaled the end of an era for Mozambique as the main conduit by which African National Congress guerrillas infiltrated South Africa from training areas located, according to South African officials, in Angola, Tanzania, East Germany and the Soviet Union.

They signified, too, the beginning of a reappraisal for the congress. No longer could it rely on black-ruled countries to provide the secure rear base that strategists of "armed struggle" insist is vital. Mozambique was its last redoubt. The congress, according to its officials in Lusaka, Zambia, was surprised by Mozambique's sudden accommodation with South Africa and had no time to prepare alternative strategies. They were angry at Mr. Machel, contending that he not only betrayed them but also went far beyond the necessities dictated by Pretoria's support for the Mozambique National Resistance.

The Congress's possibilities, as illustrated by the Mozambican raids, were severely limited. By South African accounts, the African National Congress can muster 1,500 to 2,000 trained guerrillas; of these, no more than 30 at a time are believed to have been deployed in South Africa.

Over the years, South African authorities have become embroiled in a paradoxical obsession about the congress. By official accounts, it has no permanent cells or structures inside the country, is racked by factionalism and honeycombed with infiltrators; it is a tool of the outlawed South African Communist Party and a link in a chain of international "terror" stretching from Moscow to Belfast to Beirut. Increasingly, South African officials assert, the organization is having difficulty inducing its trained members to go back to

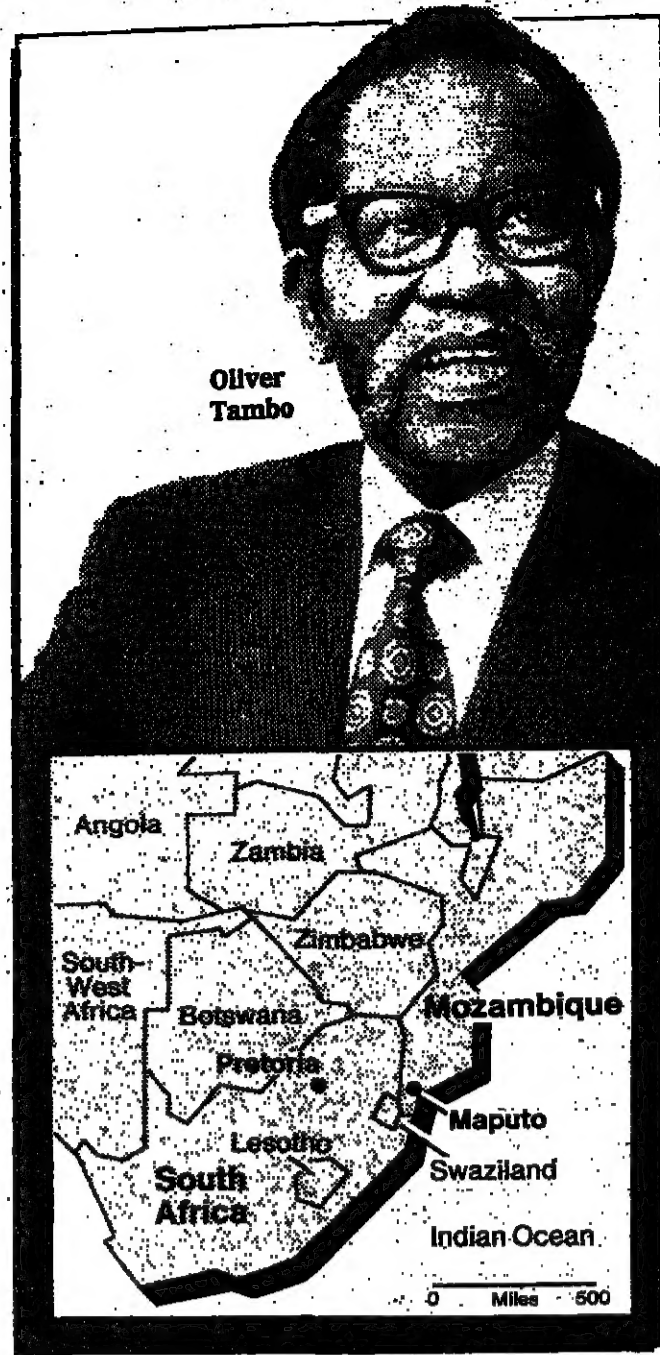
South Africa on missions of sabotage or urban warfare. Yet, this same supposedly callow organization is accused of causing \$500 million worth of damage in sabotage attacks, of being Moscow's front-runner in the scramble for southern Africa and the principal threat to the white state.

It is the latter assessment, with its implicit acknowledgment of widespread black support, that has prompted South Africa to devote military and intelligence resources to curbing the congress's activities, planting "moles" in its ranks and undermining its bases, economically and militarily.

Yet, some left-wing commentators argue, by stifling the activities of the congress abroad, the South African authorities may have forced it to do itself some favors at home. A radical white student leader, who requested anonymity, said that the congress can no longer allow itself to rest on its laurels as the most widely acknowledged exiled movement fighting apartheid. Now, he said, it will be obliged to concentrate on advancing its cause inside South Africa, using the political structures available to it. The black trade union movement, some analysts believe, may become a more prominent vehicle for political protest. The United Democratic Front, set up last year as a multiracial, anti-Government group and widely regarded as being close to the African National Congress, may be obliged to adopt a higher profile.

### Increasing Rage

In Lusaka, an official of the congress, who also declined to be identified, had a more apocalyptic vision. The mood among radical young blacks has become increasingly frustrated and angry, he said. Initially this was because of the white authorities' refusal to include the black majority in its "new dispensation" of limited political rights for South Africa's Indian and colored, or mixed-race, communities. The apparent emasculation of the exiled activists had deepened this rage, he said. In the past, he added, the congress pursued a policy of avoiding "soft" targets such as civilians, supermarkets and nursery schools. The policy was confirmed in October by Oliver Tambo, president of the congress, who lives in London, in an interview with The New



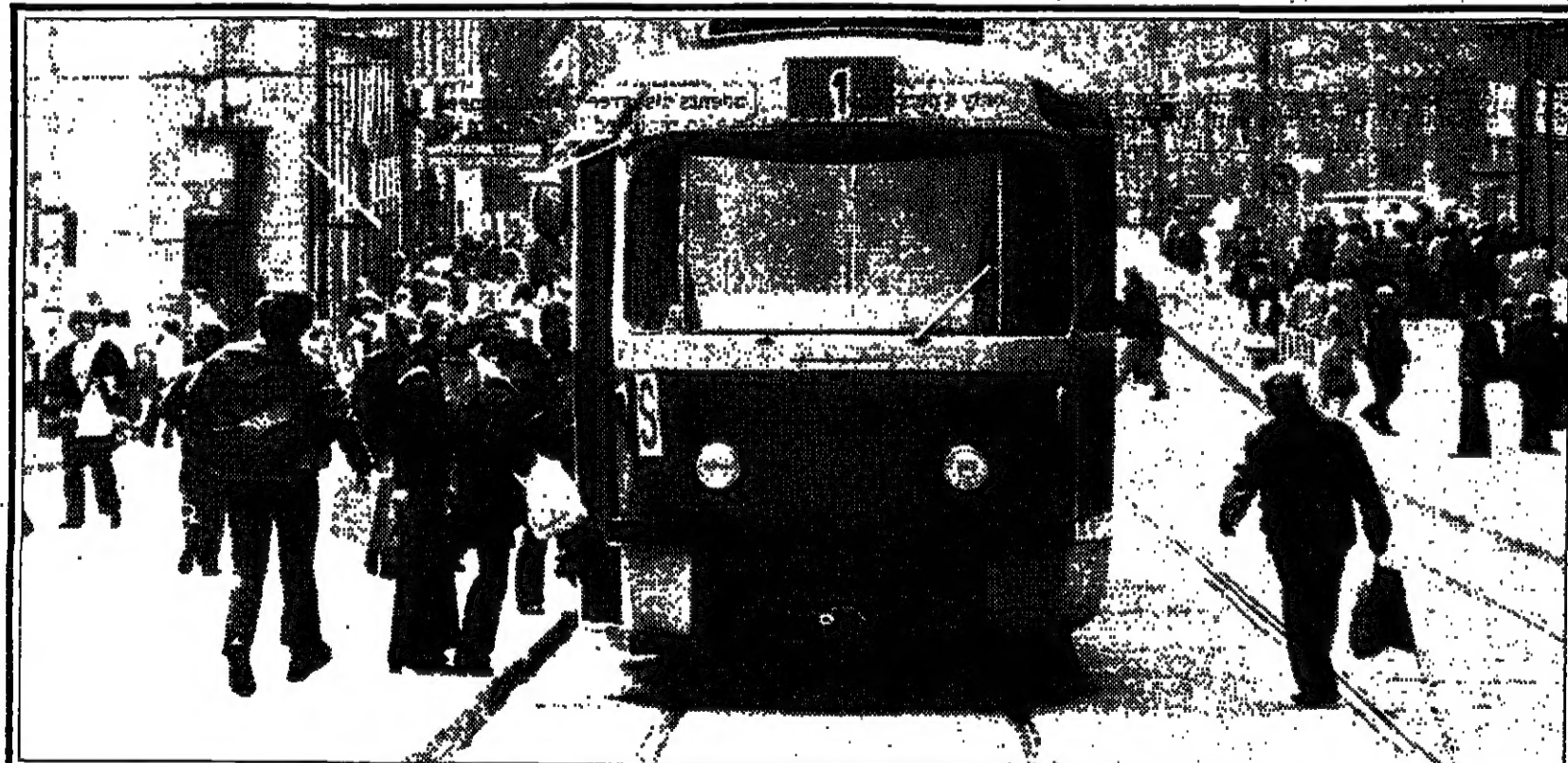
Oliver Tambo



The New York Times/Carl G. Lenz

York Times. In the future, the Lusaka official said, such considerations might be ignored by "free-lance" activists inside the country, acting without prior approval or consent. In October, Mr. Tambo indicated more drastic action by the congress because, he explained, "you can't talk the system out of existence."

## Leaders Show No Urge to Slip Moscow's Economic Bonds



Prague: a sense of stagnation, a potential for sprightliness.

Sydney/Gwen Franks

# Prague Plods On With Memories of '68

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

PRAGUE — In Czechoslovakia's lovely capital, people listen to Western radio stations and catch West German television when possible. When they compare their gently slipping living standards with neighbors', the people of Prague measure themselves against chic Vienna or Frankfurt, not flashy Budapest or dowdy East Berlin. They think of themselves as Central Europeans, not Eastern Europeans.

Yet, while next-door East Germany and Hungary are boldly experimenting in foreign and economic policy, the aging Communist leaders who were put into power in Prague by the Kremlin 16 years ago plod dutifully eastward, not westward, fastening their nation's economic and political destiny ever more tightly to the Soviet Union. The result of such unwavering loyalty is deeper subservience. Moscow does not cut the Czechoslovak leadership in on its latest arms negotiating tactics or diplomatic approaches to NATO. Instead, it raises the price of its exported oil and demands higher quality goods in return. "Our leaders are not leaders," commented a figure in the human rights movement known as Charter 77. Turning up his record player so that Mozart would impede the presumed bugging of his apartment, he said, "They are marionettes."

After the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, Janos Kadar, the Communist party boss there, declared that those of his people who were not against him were with him, and in time opened his country's economy to limited free-market mechanisms that have encouraged lively ties to the West. East Germany's leader, Erich Honecker, has similarly drawn the conclusion that sustaining his people's standard of living requires closer contacts with capitalist West Germany. As Mr. Kadar did in Hungary, Mr. Honecker has relaxed controls on the East German churches. In contrast, Gustav Husak, the colorless, 71-

year-old Czechoslovak President and party chief, carries the heavy legacy of 1968, when the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies invaded his country to squash a Communist-led movement of reform. "The year 1968 is still very fresh with us," conceded Vladimir Gerloch, a senior editor at Rude Pravo, the party daily. A Western diplomat put it more bluntly: "Husak is surrounded by people who collaborated with the Soviet Union in 1968. These people know from experience that change is bad for them. They are basically interested in self-preservation." Fears of a return to even limited political ferment are compounded among these old men by an awareness of their nation's potential sprightliness. The sadness of Prague is that it has the feel of a city that would transform itself into a European cultural center if the dead hand of bureaucratic Communism were lifted.

There appear to be few convinced Communists in Czechoslovakia. One European ambassador suggested that the stridently orthodox tones of Rude Pravo are intended largely for consumption in Moscow. "It's like the old days of the Austro-Hungarian empire," he said. "People in Prague wrote something and said, 'Ah, this will please the emperor.' Since 1968, everyone is an opportunist."

### Inertia as a Policy

Officials defend their unadventurous economic policies by pointing out that Czechoslovakia today has one of the lowest foreign debts in Eastern Europe. By cutting back on imports, it has pruned the debt from \$3.2 billion a year ago to an estimated \$2.5 billion at the end of 1983. "We have our own expenses and know that things cannot be done impulsively," a senior Government figure said. "Hungary has \$8 billion in debts."

Inertia dressed up as policy has meant a growing economic thrall to the Soviet Union, which now takes 48 percent of Czechoslovakia's exports. Overall, the Soviet Union and other

Communist states account for 77 percent of the country's trade, a jump of almost 20 percentage points over the last six years. An ambitious nuclear-power program is aimed at lessening Czechoslovakia's dependence on dwindling brown coal reserves. But it is also intended to prevent Soviet oil imports from gobbling up ever larger chunks of the national budget.

Impressed by Czechoslovakia's frugal ways, American and European bankers are back in Prague, offering loans. But many Western diplomats and businessmen believe that a major opening to the West will require the Husak regime to clean up its act on human rights. Hungary, some note a bit cynically, has managed this with a mixture of deft public relations and cosmetic concessions to dissidents and clerics. Government officials here say that neither Charter 77 — "a sect of 200 people," sniffed an editor — nor a mildly reformed Roman Catholic Church constitutes a threat to the Government. But no one seems capable of drawing the public relations conclusions from this analysis. Plainclothes policemen linger at the doors of Charter 77 members, and harassment and jailings continue. There have, however, been no mass trials lately, and the Government has opened chilly negotiations with the Vatican on a long list of old business.

Many weary Czechoslovaks conclude that their rulers still do not have the self-confidence or sense of legitimacy that have emboldened the leaders of East Germany and Hungary to strike out on their own. As in the days of the empire when Vienna called the tune, Mr. Husak awaits a signal from Moscow. Nothing discernible has been heard from Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader, though there are rumors of a visit to Prague in May. "At some point," commented a seasoned diplomat, "the Soviets may want more than stagnation out of this country. But I don't think this is in the near future, and I certainly don't think it's going to come from Chernenko."



## Israeli Voters Emerge From Lethargy as Early Elections Draw Near

# It's Politics as Usual — at Long Last

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

JERUSALEM — For about six months after a spiritless Menachem Begin resigned as Prime Minister early in September, something of a political slumber descended on Israel.

Much of the country seemed to grow bored by its leaders, weary of the war in Lebanon, resigned to the cold peace with Egypt and numb to the injustices faced daily by Arabs in the occupied West Bank. Many Israelis suspended their customary lust for political argument and self-criticism. In their soirées of coffee and cake and conversation, the talk turned away from politics to personal affairs, economic problems, sports, literature and other issues far removed from the headlines.

This was so peculiar and uncharacteristic for Israel that it had no chance of becoming a permanent mood. Last week it came to an abrupt end as the country was shaken awake by an agreement between Government and opposition politicians to hold parliamentary elections July 23. This came after Parliament began a move to force the Government to hold elections at least a year earlier than would normally have been the case. Israelis quickly warmed to the familiar spectacle of politics as theater.

There was speculation that the former President, Yitzhak Navon, would challenge Shimon Peres for the leadership of the opposition Labor Party. After cutting short a trip to the United States and Canada and returning to Israel with the idea of competing for the party leadership, Mr. Navon met with Mr. Peres over a well-phographed lunch and then kept the country in anticipation for two days. He finally conveyed a gala press conference for an anticlimax: He would not try to unseat Mr. Peres, he said, because the attempt would damage a spirit of party unity that had been created with much effort.

"I wouldn't mind the contest or its results," Mr.

Navon declared. But after testing the waters, he said, "My feeling was that if I came I would disrupt these efforts (toward unity), and when we arrive at the elections the party will not be unified, but it will be divided, and that division may affect the results of the elections." Former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin followed suit, saying that he too would refrain from making a run for the leadership, although he was critical of the party's negative attitude toward internal contests.

Many party professionals were relieved, despite the widespread feeling that Mr. Peres, a two-time loser to the Likud bloc, would make a lackluster and rather unpopular candidate; the professionals did not want a dirty in-party fight just before elections. But many rank-and-file Israelis were disappointed because they thought Mr. Navon would have made a better candidate and because his withdrawal seemed to insure that the elections would be dominated by old figures holding old debates on old issues.

The remaining hope for a good show rested on the Herut side, the main element in the Likud, where former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon threw his hat into the ring, and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy also was considering the possibility of joining the fight for the party leadership against Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Savvy party veterans, however, speculated that Mr. Sharon was motivated mostly by frustration at sitting on the sidelines of the current Cabinet, and could be assuaged with the promise of a top Cabinet post — perhaps Defense Minister again — in a new government.

### The Likud Without Begin

"I think if there is a fight Shamir will win," said Meir Shitreet, a Herut member of Parliament. "Sharon can't beat him, and neither can Levy."

In the back of the chamber, an array of smaller parties began to maneuver. The National Religious Party, which has been part of every governing coalition since

the founding of the state, was going through a divisive power struggle that could bring a younger generation of leadership to the top, over Interior Minister Yosef Burg, who thus far has seemed indestructible as a politician and minister through 36 years of statehood. On the extreme right, the militant Tehiya Party was wooing former Chief of Staff Rafael Eytan, who has formed a movement called Crossroads to advocate that voting rights be taken away from Arabs and others who do not do military service. By the weekend, Mr. Eytan had not yet announced whether he would join Tehiya or stay out of party politics.

Whether the voters will make a basic change by ousting Likud and bringing back Labor is an open question. The latest public opinion polls show Labor leading, but that was also true several months before the elections of 1977 and 1981, which Labor went on to lose.

The difference now is that the Likud does not have Mr. Begin, whose fiery oratory could move crowds to frenzies of enthusiasm. By contrast, Mr. Shamir is bland and unexciting and untested on the stump.

In addition, the Lebanon war has proved enervating and increasingly unpopular as Israeli soldiers continue to be killed and wounded by guerrilla attacks in southern Lebanon. Labor will certainly not let the voters forget who led the country into its most divisive war, but Mr. Shitreet was doubtful that it could change voters' minds.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir (left) and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres in Jerusalem last week.

A main issue is likely to be the economy, which has suffered through a severe inflation that reached 180.7 percent in 1983. In an effort to cut budgets and tighten credit and currency controls, Government economists have slowed wage increases and have stimulated stricter limitations on bank overdrafts, which most Israeli families have used to get through the month. The belt-tightening and the accompanying labor unrest have created enough malaise to hold some potential for the Labor Party.

Labor may also return to the attack on the Likud's policy of building Jewish settlements in the West Bank. But without King Hussein of Jordan or any other Arab leaders willing to negotiate over the territory, there is not much left for Israelis to discuss either. Some think this will be the first election since the 1967 war in which the West Bank is not an issue.

## Debate on Education Changes Has Been Public and Vigorous

# Soviet Economic Planners Are Moving Into the Classroom

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

MOSCOW — The Soviet press last week concluded one of the most freewheeling public debates ever held in the Soviet Union over a piece of proposed legislation. At issue is a thorough reorganization of the entire Soviet school system — almost 50 million students in 150,000 schools — with the goal of channeling many more youths into the labor force. The basic problem, noted for some time now, is that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, hardly anyone wants to be a proletarian.

The school reform, as it is known, was first proposed by the late Yuri V. Andropov last June as part of his broad campaign to do something about the acute labor shortage and get Soviet industry back on track. The debate got under way after a high-ranking commission, headed by Konstantin U. Chernenko until his promotion to the top job after Mr. Andropov's death in February, published a set of draft guidelines on Jan. 4.

The proposals covered all aspects of education, from improving textbooks to raising teachers' pay. But the changes on which the report was most explicit and insistent were those dealing with the preparation of more and better qualified blue-collar workers. The report did not spell out why changes were necessary. But the shortage of skilled workers — whether machinists, lathe operators or welders — has been a constant problem in the Soviet economy, which remains considerably more labor-intensive and less automated than that of the United States.

The problem has been compounded by an anticipated decline in the number of high school graduates after the effect of the postwar baby boom dies away. According to

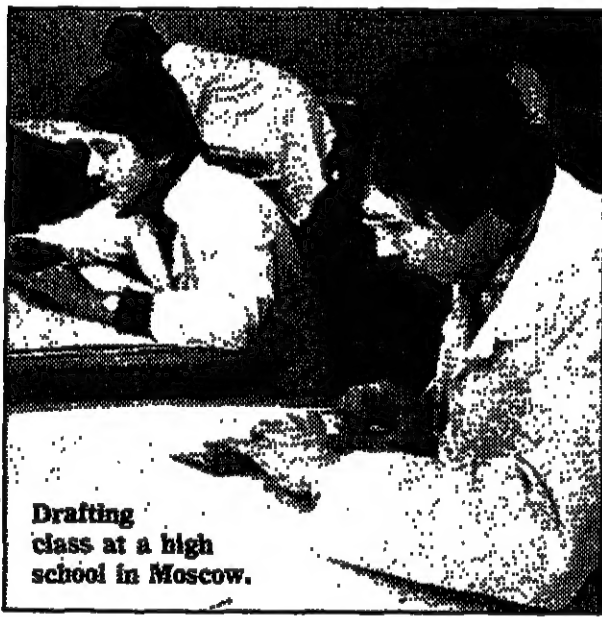
Murray Feshbach, a specialist in Soviet demography at the Center for Population Research at Georgetown University, the number of youths reaching 18 is expected to drop from 2.5 million annually in 1980 to only about 2.1 million in 1990 before starting to rise again.

Though the high-level sponsorship suggested that little in the drafts would be significantly altered, the education proposals touched off a flood of letters to the press, symposiums, televised debates, and even public opinion polls in the newspapers — a rarity here.

On Monday, when Pravda called a stop to the debate, the paper said that it alone had received more than 13,000 letters and had published 200. More notably, the letters published reflected a remarkable range of opinions about the proposed changes and many were highly critical. Sovetskaya Rossiya, which published polls, found that only 4 percent of its respondents disagreed with the need for reforms. But the paper also reported that 42 percent thought changes were necessary in the draft, and one-tenth called for a reworking of the entire project.

The public response to the proposals may well have been far louder — and less approving — than the state expected. Predictably, the most emotional reaction was to the idea of channeling more children to the P.T.U.'s — the professional-technical, or vocational schools. Under the existing system, all Soviet students take exams in 8th grade, and the bottom 40 percent or so are sent to P.T.U.'s, while the rest go on to 9th and 10th grades and the chance to get into a university or professional school.

Under the new organization, the tests would be given in 9th grade, and the bottom 60 percent would be sent to vocational schools. Associated as they are with low grades and blue-collar careers, the P.T.U.'s are avoided.



Drafting class at a high school in Moscow.

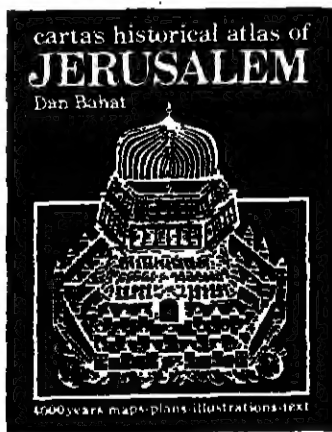
Sovetskaya Rossiya's polltakers found that although 76 percent of parents questioned expressed approval in principle for sending more children to P.T.U.'s, only 38 percent were willing to send their own children to one. Soviet youths yearn to go on to institutes and universities and careers in science, research, management — anywhere except the mines or the assembly line.

The guidelines did not charge that there was a surfeit of technocrats or intelligentsia — most white-collar institutes, in fact, also claim shortages of personnel — but did seem to reflect a longstanding concern in the party hierarchy with the self-perpetuation of the intelligentsia and the diminution in the prestige of "socially useful" labor. One remedy proposed was to introduce such labor into every level of education — from tinkering with useful objects at the lowest grades to working a full day a week at a factory or farm in the top grades.

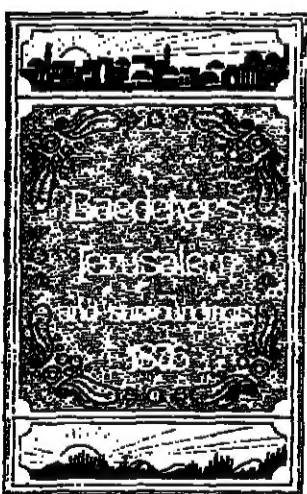
In what had to rank as the least popular proposal of all, the guidelines proposed shortening summer vacation and instead putting youths to work. The reforms also call for starting children at school at 6 instead of 7 years of age, and adding an 11th grade to the current 10. Teachers, who are paid about \$100 a month — far less than factory workers — would get raises, and classroom size would be limited to about 25 to 30 students.

Given the high-level backing, it is virtually certain that the changes will go into effect. Whether they can help enlarge and motivate the labor force is open to question. In 1958, Nikita S. Khrushchev tried to introduce industrial training at schools and compulsory two-year work assignments. The reform failed miserably and was abandoned by the mid-1960's.

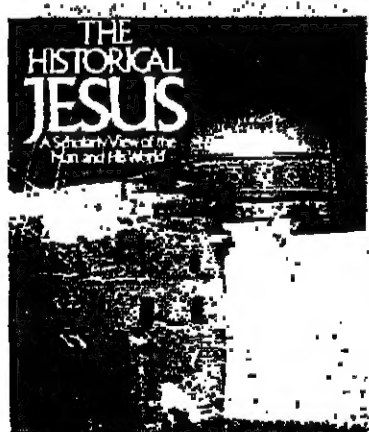
Beyond whatever resistance parents and students offer, Western observers find that the proposed changes are afflicted with the same fundamental weakness that undermines so many of Moscow's endeavors — the obsession with centralization. The Soviet education system encompasses a bewildering array of cultural settings. Trying to decree a single curriculum and goal for all 11 Soviet time zones is certain to prove troublesome.



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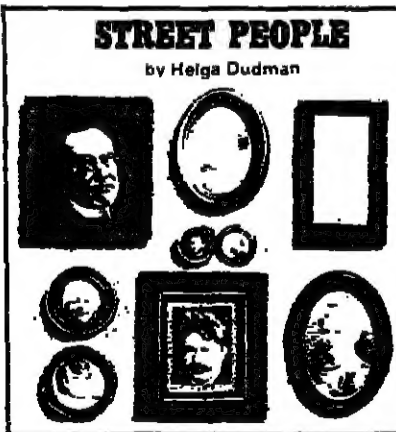
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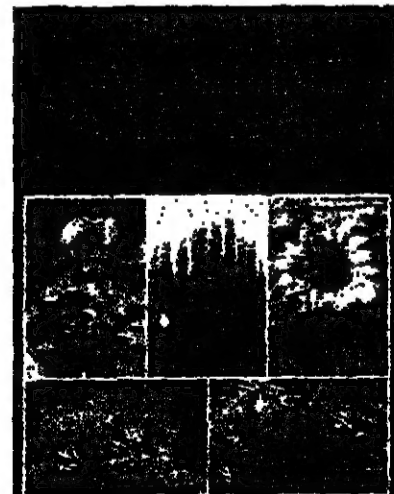
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# The Nation

## Those Who Fell Through The Safety Net

With its customary neutrality, the General Accounting Office last week delivered the first of a series of reports on how people on welfare were affected by the Reagan Administration's social policy. The study by Congress's investigative arm found that the restructuring of welfare passed by Congress at the President's urging in 1981 did what Mr. Reagan said it would do — save money (\$83 million a month, or 9.3 percent) and reduce caseloads (by nearly 500,000, or 13.7 percent). It also showed that the Reagan revisions did something the President said they would not — create significant hardship, and especially for the working poor who lived up to expectations and did not quit their jobs to get back on the rolls.

Despite working longer hours at higher wages, poor people in all five cities in the survey sample were reported to have experienced, on the average, a substantial net loss of income. (Average monthly income, in 1981 dollars, dropped to \$615 from \$744 in Dallas, and to \$720 from \$871 in Syracuse, N.Y.)

Many people cut from Aid to Families With Dependent Children, the main Federal-state welfare program, "simultaneously lost food stamp benefits," the report added, probably because the 1981 law tightened eligibility criteria there too, as well as in Medicaid, the medical assistance program for the poor. Thus, the report said, many of the nearly half-million families removed from the rolls are living in poverty as officially defined — annual cash income of less than \$9,900 for a family of four.

## Antisatellite Weapons Study

President Reagan's proposal for an antisatellite weapons system has produced hot debate in Congress and among scientists. A White House report that will be delivered to Capitol Hill tomorrow — right on deadline Congress set last year — reflects months of bitter struggle within the Administration as well.

The final draft of the report, in response to a Congressional mandate to study the feasibility of antisatellite arms control, was said to have been completed only last Thursday. State Department officials said they wanted the document to show the Administration's serious interest in studying the question; Pentagon officials made clear they wanted to close the door on a treaty banning the weapons because of what they considered the formidable difficulties of verification.

In the end, the report concludes that a ban on specific antisatellite weapons might be possible to verify, but that Administration experts have yet to figure out how.

Almost \$20 million for long-lead-time items for the weapons system was appropriated in last year's budget. But Congress required that the report be submitted before the Pentagon was permitted to spend the appropriation, to which White House wants to add \$143 million this year. The legislation also required a "good faith" effort at negotiating a "mutual and verifiable ban on antisatellite weapons" with the Soviet Union; the only talks now under way cover ground troops in Europe.

## Modified Stand On Aid and Bias

The newly reconstructed United States Commission on Civil Rights differed with its architects in the Reagan Administration last week, but it seemed more a matter of degree than kind. By a 5-to-3 vote, the panel recommended that Congress allow Federal authorities to penalize an entire college or university for discrimination even if just one program was guilty of it. That went further than the Supreme Court, which recently limited sanctions to the disputed programs, and the Justice Department, which applauded the Court's ruling. It could help liberals push through legislation that would overturn the decision.

The commission recommended that the new policy apply not only to sex discrimination, the basis of the court case and the legislation, but also to bias on the ground of race or handicap. But it urged that Washington's ultimate weapon — a cutoff of all funds to an offending institution — be used sparingly, and that the Government employ court injunctions in attacks on discrimination that go beyond individual programs. It also rejected the use of quotas, agreeing with an Administration that, after a long struggle with Congress, succeeded in filling five of the eight seats on the panel.

Mary Frances Berry, one of the dissenters, said so many restrictions were written into the resolution that it was like throwing "red meat to the wolves" who want to halt enforce-

ment of civil rights laws. But Clarence M. Pendleton Jr., the chairman, said he voted with the majority even though opposed to broader sanctions because he wanted a consensus presented to Congress.

## Self-Criticism At U.S.I.A.

When the United States Information Agency's blacklist of speakers came to light two months ago, top agency officials said it was all a "terrible mistake." They blamed "mindless goons in the bureaucracy" for creating the list, which contained the names of 95 Americans banned from an overseas speaking program.

A report released last week by the agency's own office of investigations, however, said that the senior officials themselves deserved the blame. The blacklist had been "initiated and employed by top management," the study found, and it was "unfair and misdirected" to hold junior staff members responsible.

In a statement issued with the report, the director, Charles Z. Wick,



The New York Times/George Tames  
Charles Z. Wick

offered this explanation of his involvement: The report, he said, "concludes that the director appears to have been relatively — but not completely — remote from the actual process." Agency officials earlier said that Mr. Wick knew nothing about the list. The agency last month destroyed records indicating why certain people had been barred. The blacklist, kept for more than two and a half years, included Senator Gary Hart, Walter Cronkite and Betty Friedan.

## Decorations All Around

It wasn't exactly hell in the trenches of Ft. Bragg, N.C., and along the bleak corridors of the Pentagon during the Grenada invasion last year. But then, if they also serve who only stand and wait, who's to say they shouldn't also get medals?

Not the United States Army. Officials disclosed last week that the Army had awarded 8,612 medals to personnel involved in the invasion and occupation of Grenada, though no more than 7,000 set foot on the Caribbean island. The awards, 6,708 of which went to members of the 82d Airborne Division included 275 for valor, combat deaths or wounds.

Of the remaining 4,881 commendation medals, 2,495 achievement medals, 681 Bronze Stars and assorted other awards, 50 went to Pentagon personnel and an undisclosed number of others went to support personnel who remained at Fort Bragg, and other installations back home. The Army said the awards were "a valuable leadership tool to build unit morale and esprit."

The Marines, Navy and Air Force haven't seen fit to use that building material so lavishly. The Marines, who had 1,000 men on the ground in Grenada, reported awarding 18 Purple Hearts and were said to be considering 100 commendations for bravery. The Navy reported seven Purple Hearts among its 50 men actively involved in the invasion. The Air Force, which deployed 800 ground and air personnel, said none of them had been cited so far.

Caroline Rand Herron,  
Michael Wright  
and Carlyle C. Douglas

## A Correction

An article in *The Week* in Review of March 25 incorrectly reported the percentage of the black vote in the Illinois primary taken by former Vice President Walter F. Mondale. It was 17 percent.

## New York and Pennsylvania Are Crucial

# The Democrats Bare Emotions, Knuckles

By HOWELL RAINES

The exchanges between Walter F. Mondale and Gary Hart have been getting hotter for some time. Last week, in one of the series of nationally televised debates that some strategists regard as the major force in raising the emotional temperature of the 1984 nomination struggle, the Democratic Presidential aspirants seemed to drop any effort to draw a line between political differences and personal dislike.

Before the cameras on Wednesday night, they traded cold-eyed stares and conversational volleys that fell just short of snarls. Throughout the week, the appearance of mutual contempt was reinforced by television commercials in which the candidates condemned one another's leadership abilities and public records. Their arguing did more to set the tone of the campaign than did Mr. Hart's two-to-one victory in the Connecticut primary on Tuesday. It also underscored the fact that volatility, of the candidates and the voters alike, may be a central factor in the New York primary on Tuesday and the Pennsylvania contest a week later.

In Wednesday night's debate, the Rev. Jesse Jackson condemned the Hart-Mondale exchanges as a lot of "rat-a-tat-tat" signifying nothing. But at the least, they raise the question of how Democratic voters will respond to the increasing negativity of the nomination contest.

According to The New York Times/CBS News Poll conducted March 21-23, a third of Mr. Mondale's supporters and a third of Mr. Hart's say they are prepared to vote for President Reagan if their candidate loses the nomination. That probably means that the 1984 contest has not yet reached the level of bitterness attained, say, by President Carter and Senator Edward M. Kennedy in 1980. At that time, about a half of the Democrats questioned said they would vote Republican rather than support the candidate who defeated their man for the nomination.

By week's end, even Mr. Jackson, who had played peacemaker in the televised debate, was behaving more aggressively. He assured black voters that "Walter Mondale and Gary Hart would prefer to pretend that you and I do not exist."

In part, this was simply a replay of Mr. Jackson's familiar complaint that he was being prematurely counted out. But his blunt tone also underscored the continued importance of the Jackson factor for his opponents and his party.

His ability to get a majority of the black vote has hobbled Mr. Mondale throughout the campaign, and Democratic registration has soared in black and Hispanic sections of New York City.

A strong performance in New York and other important primaries could guarantee Mr. Jackson enough influence to compel the national convention to deal with his main issues, including the question of putting a woman or a black on the ticket.

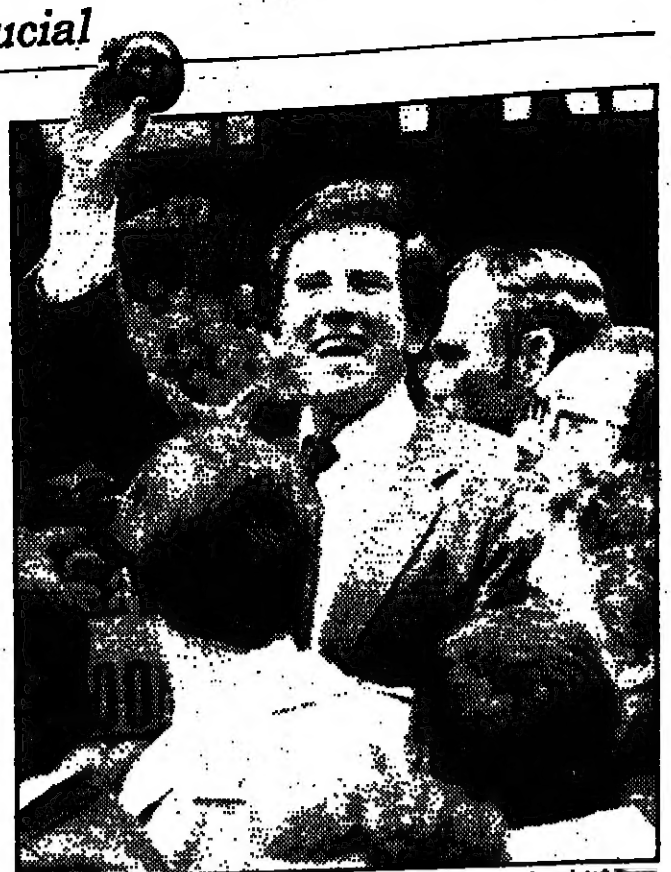
Notwithstanding Mr. Jackson's protests, the Mondale-Hart contest is still the dominant concern for most Democratic leaders. While many of them expect a long, grinding campaign, they also believe that the next two weeks could signal the likely winner. While a split decision would not advance either man to a preemptive lead, back-to-back victories in New York and Pennsylvania would give the winner tremendous impetus.

Taken together, the two states provide a good arena for a contest of such potential impact. As two of the most heavily unionized states, New York and Pennsylvania represent Mr. Mondale's organizational heartland, as well as a potentially congenial place for his argument that the nation needs a seasoned Democrat schooled in the party's traditional principles. On the other hand, the economic deterioration of the states could have created a readiness for Mr. Hart's call for a new industrial policy and for a new Democratic constituency based on generational, economic and educational kinships rather than the brokering of standard "interests."

For weeks, Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale have aired their views about which vision of the party's leadership and its future ought to prevail. Now New York and Pennsylvania have a chance to show which course is more appealing to mainstream voters in key Democratic states.

Whatever the outcome, the primary battles that culminated in last week's hard fighting all across the Empire State emphasized two features of the 1984 campaign that seem likely to go into the notebooks of strategists, political historians and campaign juries.

First, there is the effect of the six major television debates held so far by inviting the candidates to mix it up and in cutting them down to size. Starting with the Democratic members of



Senator Gary Hart campaigning in Queens last week.

Congress who held the first event on Jan. 15, the sponsors of these debates have designed formats that stripped the candidates of their aura of authority by depriving them of the politicians' standard rhetorical protections. They have been lined up on the stage in arrangements that promoted confrontation, hectoring to provide "yes or no" answers to complex questions, and finally, on Wednesday night, challenged as to whether they met tests of Presidential leadership defined by Dan Rather, the CBS anchorman.

A second important feature of this political year — and one that some media consultants regard as related to the confrontational nature of the television debates — has been the extreme volatility of voter opinion. In the primaries of New Hampshire and Illinois, the candidate who led in the public opinion polls on Friday night wound up losing on Tuesday morning.

Mr. Hart's advisers, believing they were trailing in New York at the end of the week, hope that such a sudden change in voter allegiance is under way right now. Mr. Mondale, for his part, is not making the mistake that hurt him in New Hampshire, where he shut down his campaign during the final weekend. Instead, both men are on the trail, denigrating one another as mightily as the arts of their speechmakers and advertising specialist allow. In this topsy-turvy political year, that seems the best they can do.

## New President Faces a Shrinking Base, Growing Apathy

# Hard Times for Labor in Steel Industry

By WILLIAM SERRIN

PITTSBURGH — Since it was founded in 1936 as the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, the United Steelworkers of America has had just four presidents: Philip Murray, David McDonald, I.W. Abel, and Lloyd McBride.

Last week, the union, one of the few in America to have dirt and file presidential elections, voted for its fifth one. The members apparently selected Lynn R. Williams, a Canadian, although the returns were far from complete and Mr. Williams's opponent, Frank McKee, refused to concede defeat.

Mr. Williams, the union's secretary and acting president since Mr. McBride's death in November, claimed 188,287 votes to 108,325 for Mr. McKee. Mr. McKee, the union's treasurer, claimed 77,000 votes to 43,000 for Mr. Williams, a count that did not include Canadian locals, which account for about 20 percent of the union's membership. The two tallies were based on returns phoned in to the respective camps by their supporters at various locals.

Quarreling over the outcome may continue for some time. Ball is of some 300,000 union members from about 4,700 locals are to be sealed and sent to the international headquarters in Pittsburgh. The official tally will begin on April 9, and the result will not be certified by the union's executive board until perhaps early June. Even then, Mr. McKee's supporters said, the count might be challenged in court.

The union faces enormous difficulties whoever its new leader is. Its latest contract with the nation's leading steel companies, signed in March 1983, contained substantial wage, benefit, and work rule concessions, and additional concessions have been negotiated by many of the union's locals.

Membership, which rose steadily from 660,000 in 1942 to 1.4 million in 1979, has declined drastically to a reported 750,000 today, and some in the industry suspect it may be even lower. Finances are shaky and the union has been forced to retrench, laying off a substantial number of staff members.

This at a time when the steel industry is in disarray, largely as a result of inability to compete with imports, and steel industry unemployment is high. All of which demonstrates a definite need for the sort of revitalization the candidates promised.

The election itself showed some of the union's difficulties.

Many issues facing workers and the steel industry — new technologies, structural change in the American and global economies, the need for retraining, the decline of old steel communities — were ignored as Mr. McKee made Mr. Williams's Canadian citizenship a major issue. Mr. McKee said much Canadian

steel is exported into the United States, costing American jobs, and that the union should not be given over to a Canadian.

Mr. Williams said this approach was divisive and contrary to union solidarity. He said more, not less, international cooperation was needed if unions were to negotiate successfully with multinational corporations. In what amounted to a victory statement, Mr. Williams said, "Any rift . . . will be quickly healed as they see that I mean what I say and we will be moving forward."

Fewer than 300,000 of the union's 1 million eligible voters cast ballots (active members and workers unemployed for less than two years are eligible to vote), a sign, some union people said, of apathy among union members toward the election and the union.

"It's too quiet around here," Arthur J. Sambuchi, a local union president in Lackawanna, N.Y., said last week in his office. "There are no fist fights. Nobody is arguing in the bars. Nobody could care less. We're dead. We're just waiting for the ground to be shoveled over us."

If that is true, some observers believe it is because the union has always been highly centralized and often autocratic. That has made it difficult, the observers say, for local leaders to rise to power, particularly if they oppose top leaders.

For decades, steelworkers were unable to organize, and even when the union was formed almost a half century ago, it was from the top and from the outside.

Its first president, Mr. Murray, was sent from the United Mine Workers of America by John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Since then, all top leaders have been from the union's administration, as are Mr. Williams and Mr. McKee.

## Changing an Image

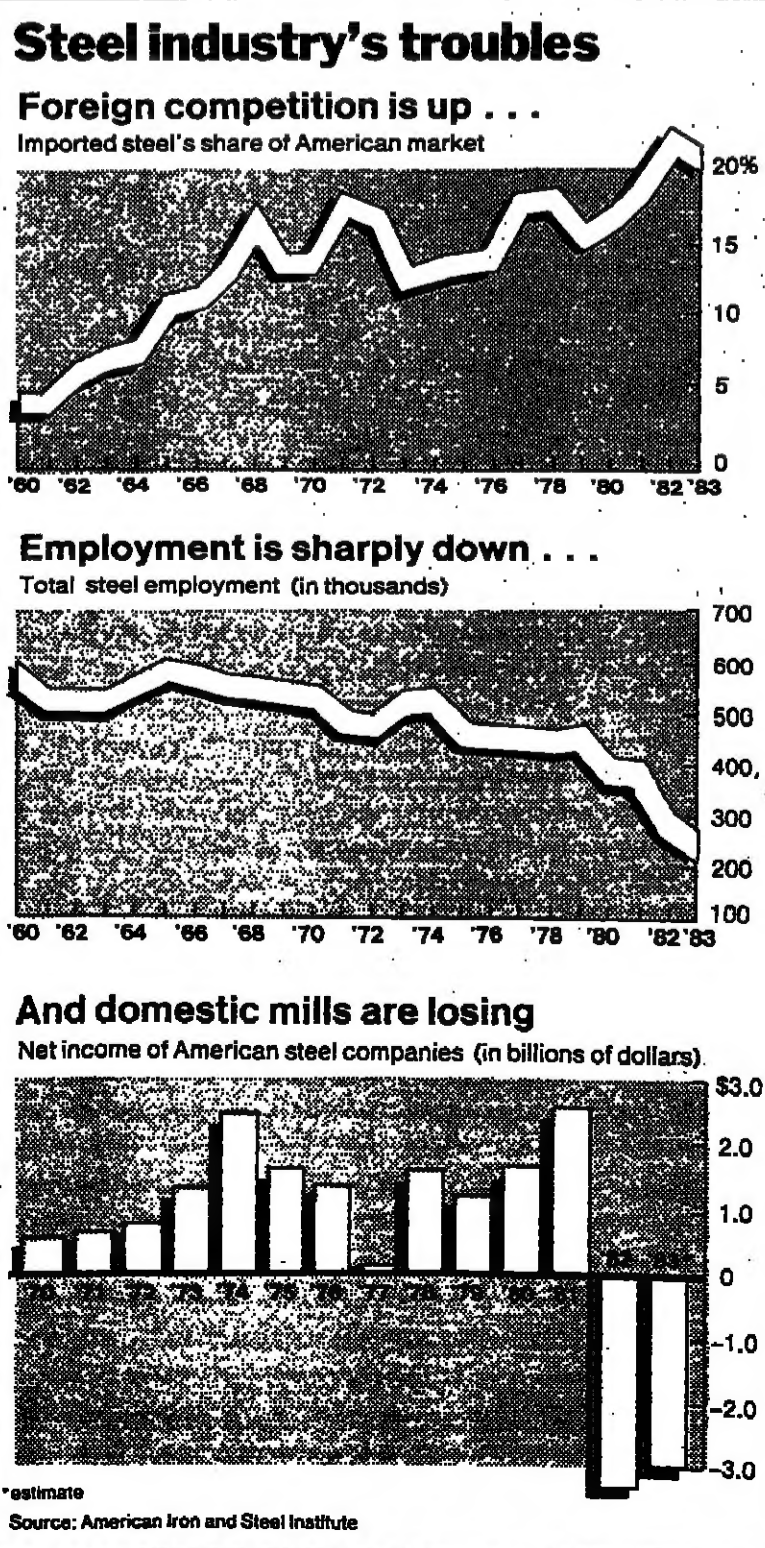
"The union always has been run by a palace guard," said Stanley Aronowitz, a professor of sociology and a labor expert at the Graduate Center of City University of New York.

Associates say Mr. Williams, who has never worked in a steel mill and was sharply criticized by Mr. McKee for that fact, would like to change that "palace guard" image and is determined to reinvigorate the steelworkers.

His plans as the apparent president-elect include diligent organizing, particularly at "mini-mills" — small, electric-furnace shops that have proliferated in recent years and many of which are not represented by the union. He has spoken of using "corporate campaigns," that is, schemes in which stockholders as well as management are attacked in union drives. He also wants to gain some control of union pension funds and has called for increased lobbying and other political activity aimed at increasing labor's organizing power.

But his most immediate goals are likely to be the settling of a bitter, months-long strike against Phelps-Dodge Corporation in Morenci, Ariz., and taking up several issues with the U.S. Steel Corporation. He is particularly angered, associates say, by U.S. Steel's plant closings, its diversification into petroleum and by what he regards as its obstinacy in negotiations.

"Lynn intends to take them on," an associate, Gary Hubbard, said with certainty. It is much less than certain, however, that the union has the strength necessary for that battle.





# Putting a Lid on Corporate Secrets

By TAMAR LEWIN

**S**AMUEL SLATER was a sneak. Despite Britain's tight laws preventing anyone who knew the secrets of the thriving textile mills from leaving the country, the 21-year-old apprentice in Richard Arkwright's Derbyshire mills disguised himself as a farmhand and, in 1789, dashed off to the United States. There he promptly re-created the Arkwright mill from memory and gave birth to the industry that was to nurture New England's economy for generations.

History does not record what his British bosses said, but the dismay they must have felt two centuries ago about the theft of their cloth-making secrets is a thoroughly modern phenomenon. The enormous fracas two years ago over Hitachi's attempts to buy secret information about I.B.M.'s computers — and the International Business Machines Corporation's aggressive litigation against former employees who have gone off knowing too much — is only the tip of the iceberg.

• The international marketing director of Medtronic, the world's largest heart pacemaker producer, was indicted in December in connection with a plan to sell trade secrets to

Cordis Laboratories, a rival company. James J. Krieger, the executive, was arrested in Miami while delivering 19 confidential documents to an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The excuse: Mr. Krieger claims he was insane at the time.

• The makers of Thomas's English muffins filed suit when they discovered that several employees were going to join Entenmann's, a competing baker. The problem: The departing workers knew how to make the famous "nooks and crannies" that hold the melted butter on Thomas's muffins. The two companies reached a secret out-of-court settlement late last year.

• Joseph V. Vittoria, the former president of Hertz who is now president of Avis, is deep in litigation with his old employer. In a sealed lawsuit, Hertz charges that Mr. Vittoria breached his agreement not to work for a competitor for two years, and took confidential documents and trade secrets to Avis that still belong to Hertz. Mr. Vittoria's claim: "There are no trade secrets in the car rental business. I've been back and forth between Avis and Hertz before, and there isn't much that's specific to either company."

• Donald Breen Jr., who helped de-

velop "The Pepsi Challenge" ad campaign, moved to Coca-Cola right after Pepsi finished drafting its 1981 sales plans — and Pepsi promptly filed suit. The result: The case was settled when Mr. Breen agreed not to discuss any confidential Pepsi marketing information for a full year.

All these cases and hundreds more that don't make it to court are about trade secrets — which, according to common law, can be any sensitive business information, not generally known or available, that the company has taken steps to keep confidential. The information may not be patentable or copyrightable, but it might be. It could be about virtually any business activity: pricing, customers, suppliers, marketing, manufacturing processes and the like.

In a nation struggling to maintain its competitive edge, legal battles over who owns what information are sprouting by the dozen in every industry. Preserving confidentiality of information is especially hard in Silicon Valley and other outposts of high technology where many workers with the keenest, most inventive minds switch jobs almost as fast as they generate new ideas.

"I'd say there's five to eight times as many trade secret cases now as there were ten years ago," said

Roger Millgrim, a New York trade secret lawyer. "In a thinner economy, there is a much greater awareness of trade secret problems and people are more prepared to litigate to protect their business information."

Since the law in the area is relatively clear-cut, most trade secret fights turn on the particular facts of the case: Was the material generally known, and did the company take the appropriate steps to keep it secret? "There are not a lot of legal questions in the field, but the fact questions can be awful, awful hard ones of who owns what is in someone's brain," said Thomas Barr, a New York lawyer who handles I.B.M.'s trade secret litigation.

It could be argued that the growing trade secret battles simply illustrate the vitality of American business, the opportunities that await enterprising workers, and the fluidity that keeps the economy growing.

But they may also be symptoms of an economy that, from the employers' point of view, is a little too fluid. Businesses say that with workers changing jobs more frequently — and competition from both domestic and foreign competitors heating up — it is getting more difficult to protect the information that may be a company's most vital assets. When employees move around too much, they say, it is

# The Economy

hard for a company to safeguard its investment in the years of research, development and training.

To plug the dike, companies are scurrying around in quest of new measures to protect themselves, most commonly by making employees sign confidentiality agreements, holding exit interviews where the issue is discussed, and, in some cases, even dividing up chemical formulas or engineering data so that no one party will know the whole.

If it's a tough problem for employers, it can cause problems for workers, too — especially the creative ones. While few modern workers have to go through the contortions Mr. Slater did to go out on their own, the barriers against taking their knowledge with them can be formidable. Getting caught in a trade secret fight between a former employer and a new one "is a wrenching experience," said one Johnson & Johnson executive who has seen it happen to several new hires.

"You take a guy who's worked 20 years in a particular job and become an expert, and that's all he knows how to do," said John Schmutz, vice president and associate general counsel of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company. "Do you say that man can't go somewhere else and use his skills and experience? Of course not. On the other hand, if a man has worked for 20 years developing a process that's important to you, does that mean he has the right to walk away with it? Of course not. It's always a question of balancing the employee's rights and the company's rights."

One prototype of the problems in trying to define who owns which information was the legal battle between

mer I.B.M. employees to a computer consulting group and even the law firm representing two former I.B.M. employees in a trade secret case.

Although I.B.M.'s most notorious trade secret case — the undercover "sting" operation in which F.B.I. agents videotaped Hitachi executives seeking to buy stolen I.B.M. computer documents — involved spies paid to get certain documents, most trade secret cases do not involve anything as sinister as industrial espionage.

Instead, most problems arise when executives or technicians leave a company either to work for a competitor, as in the Avis, Entenmann's and Pepsi cases, or to set up a spinoff company like Compaq.

"Sometimes, the problem is that people genuinely believe that what they have learned is theirs, that it belongs to them because they worked on it," said John A. Stichnoth, general counsel of Union Carbide. "A few know they're doing something illegal and hope they won't get caught. Sometimes, when employees leave, if they've been lured away from their present position to do similar work for a competitor for far more money, it's very clear that we are going to have a problem."

There are many steps a company can take to try to keep its trade secrets from leaking to the outside world, and right now, many companies, including Union Carbide, are re-examining their procedures to make sure they are doing all they should.

The key elements of any protection program, experts say, are identifying exactly what should be secret, taking

# China Revives Free Enterprise

With the blessing of Peking, small business is flourishing in China's markets.

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

**P**PRIVATE enterprise is booming along Touloung Street, which everyone in Harbin calls Sofa Street by now. New vinyl sofas are laid out end to end, as shiny as sedans on an American used car lot. There are armchairs for sale, too, and coat racks, cupboards and beds, often better in quality — and higher in price — than the furniture on display in state stores.

The sellers stand patiently throughout the Manchurian winter, brushing the snowflakes from their handmade furniture with feather dusters. "I wear a lot of clothes," said Zheng Lianzhou, shrugging off the cold as he caressed one of his armchairs with a mitted hand — a chair he had made at home and was trying to sell for the yuan equivalent of \$45. "I'm happy inside," he said, "so whether it is cold or hot doesn't make any difference."

Harbin's Sofa Street — whose capitalist tempo generated the sale of 50,000 pieces of furniture last year for \$2 million — is one of the numerous markets that have appeared in China as private enterprise spreads through the nation, encouraged by the Peking leadership. Indeed, not since the early years of the Communist revolution, when Mao Zedong was still trying to socialize the economy, have so many Chinese been engaged in private business. In most cases, their shops, restaurants and stalls deal in consumer goods and food.

Such profit-making activities were attacked during the 10-year Cultural Revolution and had almost vanished by the time it ended in 1976. But the liberalization of China's economy has awakened an appetite for consumer products far greater than the state's factories and stores can satisfy. So



Workers making bamboo items in Sichuan Province.

the leadership changed the rules two years ago to allow many individuals to set up their own businesses.

The declared purpose is to supplement the production and marketing of consumer goods and also to provide work for the unemployed, who make up about 9 percent of the labor force, according to Government statistics. Many of the unemployed are young people awaiting a job opening in state-owned enterprises. While they wait, they are a common sight on the Sofa Streets in Chinese cities, along with retirees like Mr. Zheng, a former transport worker.

Mr. Zheng, who is 65, had been a carpenter in his youth and he draws on that skill now to make armchairs in his home. He hauls the chairs in a small cart to the market, a trip of an hour and a half, where he has been al-

lotted a spot to sell.

Mr. Zheng nets the equivalent of about \$100 a month from his furniture, after paying \$30 for materials and taxes. That supplements a pension of only \$20 a month. "Before, we were not allowed to sell anything and I lived in a mud house," Mr. Zheng said. "Now I've built two brick houses and we have a television set and two bicycles. Our living standard is higher than before."

Such relative prosperity is not unusual for those who are self-employed in a country where annual income for urban workers averaged about \$250 in 1983. In fact, Harbin's most prosperous private businessman, Wang Zibin, earned \$5,000 last year from the automotive repair shop that he runs with his six children. Partly because of the prosperity

that it brings, the revival of private enterprise is one of the most debated economic reforms introduced by China's leader, Deng Xiaoping. Small-business men still are harassed and closed down by local officials who regard profit as ideologically obscene. And the central Government has not incorporated private enterprise into national economic planning, although small business is allowed — even encouraged — as a means of meeting the demand for consumer goods as the Chinese snap up furniture, clothing, television sets and other items they would not have thought of purchasing a decade ago.

In the Government's campaign to break down prejudices against private businesses, the party's general secretary, Hu Yaobang, argued in a speech that the system of exploitation has been abolished in China, so all work that benefits the state and the people is honorable and respectable. And the Guangming daily newspaper insisted that while China's private enterprise was not socialist, neither was it capitalist because it did not exploit the working class.

China's economy operates on three tiers. State-owned enterprises employ nearly three-quarters of the urban labor force, which exceeds 110 million people. Collective enterprises, owned and run by groups of workers, constitute 24 percent of the work force. The self-employed account for less than 2 percent of all urban workers, but the number is growing.

In fact, more than 7.5 million people are engaged in private enterprise, reports Hao Haifeng, acting director of the Individual Enterprises Bureau of the State Administration for Industry and Commerce. The number hasn't been so high since 1953, four years after the Communist takeover, when 8.38 million were in private businesses. Thereafter the figure fell precipitously, to 160,000 by 1956, as Chairman Mao moved to socialize the economy.

In a briefing last month, Mr. Hao cited statistics confirming the rapid revival of private enterprise. Nearly 79 percent of retail stores, 78 percent of service shops and over 80 percent of restaurants set up in China from 1978 through 1982 are privately owned.

# The worry today is the ex-employee who passes valuable information on to his new corporate bosses.

Texas Instruments and Compaq, a portable computer company that spun off from T.I. three years earlier. Texas Instruments charged that Rod Canon, the president of Compaq, and nine other employees who were formerly engineers at Texas Instruments, had stolen trade secrets and infringed on patents to develop parts for Compaq's popular portable computer.

Compaq countersued, charging that Texas Instruments was trying to drive it out of the computer market, in restraint of competition. As with most such cases, the battle ended in a secret out-of-court settlement last October, with Texas Instruments announcing that it had received a "substantial payment" from Compaq for licensing rights to some patents.

"I think Silicon Valley is different from any other place in the world," said Mr. Barr, the lawyer who represents I.B.M. "Everything is changing very fast, everyone's talking about founding a new company, and any smart engineer knows that if he can make it for two or three years after leaving his company, he has a chance to make a million dollars, or ten million dollars."

To protect its technology — and, some computer industry analysts say, to intimidate anyone who might try to use that technology — I.B.M. has over the last two years brought a barrage of trade secret cases. I.B.M.'s targets have included everything from companies set up by for-

steps to let those who work with it know it is sensitive, and making sure that departing employees know their obligation to maintain secrecy continues even after they leave the company.

At most companies, particularly technology-intensive ones, there is a formal termination interview at which the question of confidentiality is mentioned, and employees are reminded that they have a continuing legal obligation to protect their old company's secrets.

"Our technical employees keep vendor's notebooks, in which record everything they work said Robert S. Banks, the general counsel at Xerox. "When a tech employee is leaving, he sits c. with one of our patent lawyers to over his notebooks and talk about what is confidential. It doesn't go as far as 'Page 3 belongs to us, page 16 you can have.' We would be more likely to say, 'If you want to pursue this area, come back and see if we are pursuing it.' The real question is whether the information is part of the person's normal experience and skills, something anyone doing that kind of work would know, or whether it is something developed for Xerox and specific to Xerox."

In addition to the exit interview, many companies have regular reviews of data to identify trade secrets and let employees know their obligation to keep such information confidential.

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

# Argentina Faces Another Deadline

Argentina teetered on the brink. A last-minute loan for \$500 million, put together by United States officials, appeared imminent late Friday to save Argentina from becoming the first nation since the eruption of the foreign debt crisis to have its loans declared nonperforming. The emergency loan would allow Argentina to pay some of the \$650 million in interest that must be paid by this weekend if United States banks are to avoid a sharp reduction in first-quarter earnings. In the talks leading up to the loan agreement on Friday, Argentina's blunt-talking Economics Minister, Bernardo Grinspun, said the banks' accounting problems were not his concern. His nation, now \$47 billion in debt, has an estimated \$1 billion in reserve, but Mr. Grinspun wants to use the funds at home, and put off payments on the nation's foreign debt until later in the spring, at the earliest.

The Bank of Boston said that if it had to declare its \$100 million in loans to Argentina as nonperforming, its first-quarter earnings would suffer "substantially."

Oil fever continues. The Senate rejected a bill that would have placed an 11-month ban on big oil mergers, and the race to acquire oil reserves on Wall Street moved apace. T. Boone Pickens, whose actions finally



Bernardo Grinspun

sparked the takeover of Gulf, was spotted in the Senate gallery as legislation proposed by Democratic Senator J. Bennett Johnston was killed. There were rumors that Mr. Pickens would soon bid for Enstar, a Houston-based oil and gas company that has put itself up for sale amid a proxy battle. In addition, U.S. Steel's Marathon Oil bid \$65 million for the American operations of Husky Oil.

Shell Oil said it would take \$75 each

for its shares — or \$23 billion — rebuffing an offer from the Royal Dutch/Shell Group and putting investors on notice that it would not knuckle under easily. But Royal Dutch, which owns all but about 30 percent of Shell's already, said it would take its \$5-a-share offer directly to shareholders.

The stock market took a big jump in midweek as interest rates did an about-face and started to slide, and institutions re-entered the equities market. But the rally was not sustained, and trading was mixed the rest of the week. The Dow Jones industrial average ended the week at 1,164.89, up 10.65. An expected \$100 million drop in the money supply had little effect on credit markets, but they remained uneasy as they awaited some indication of possible changes in monetary policy by the Federal Open Market Committee. The committee's minutes showed late Friday that it had decided in March against acting to bring down interest rates.

Good economic news outshone bad spring weather. The Irdex of Leading Economic Indicators and factory orders each rose a strong seven-tenths of 1 percent in February, and machine tool orders doubled from the depressed year-ago figures. Sales of new homes were a brisk 7.8 percent in

February, but the foreign trade deficit widened to a record \$10.1 billion. Economists said the early-year showings promised a continued recovery; the Administration said the figures belied claims that the economy was overheating.

The abandonment of the Seabrook Unit 2 nuclear power plant is all but assured. The member utilities voted to cancel the project if a way can be found by Dec. 1 to relieve the resulting burden on the Public Service Company of New Hampshire, the utility with the largest stake in the plant — 36 percent. Public Service, with veto power over any cancellation vote, had earlier agreed to cancel the project under certain conditions.

Historical Note. Last Wednesday marked the fifth anniversary of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island.

Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, insisting it wants to remain private, said nevertheless that it would be willing to sell a minority stake in order to raise capital. The firm, one of the last remaining private Wall Street partnerships, has been in turmoil since Lewis L. Glucksman took over as chairman at the beginning of the year. Mr. Glucksman's perceived preference for the trading side has angered some of Lehman's senior partners in investment banking.

## The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 30, 1984 (Consolidated)					Standard & Poor's				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng		Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
AT&T	9,975,300	15 1/2	+	3	400 Indust	181.6	178.6	180.1	+3.04
Disney	5,117,700	66 1/2	+	3	20 Transp	141.0	136.2	140.4	+3.22
Gulf Co	4,861,100	77 1/2	+	1 1/2	40 Util	65.0	64.3	64.5	-0.49
Supr Oil	4,669,800	41 1/2	+	1	40 Financial	17.7	17.1	17.4	+0.25
IBM	4,437,700	114	+	1 1/2	500 Stocks	160.4	156.3	159.1	+2.32
Citicorp	4,129,400	34	+	1 1/2					
GM	3,996,000	65	—	—					
Mitel	3,798,300	8	—	1 1/2					
Sears	3,782,000	33 1/2	+	1 1/2					
LTV	3,697,600	17 1/2	+	3					
Chrysler	3,692,900	25 1/2	—	1 1/2					
Shell O	3,629,500	55 1/2	—	3 1/2					
ENSTR	3,624,300	19 1/2	+	1					
Ford M	3,576,300	36 1/2	—	1 1/2					
Baxt Tr	3,255,000	16 1/2	—	1 1/2					

MARKET DIARY					The American Stock Exchange				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows	MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 30, 1984 (Consolidated)				
1,179	786	2,225	84	174	Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
					Amdt	2,861,000	15	—	2 1/2
					WangB	1,034,500	28	—	1 1/2
					TIE	927,100	19 1/2	+	3
					GLFC	744,100	14 1/2	—	—
					HornH	644,400	20	+	1 1/2
					EchoB	555,600	9 1/2	+	1 1/2
					Husky	526,100	9	+	1 1/2
					DomeP	484,800	3 1/2	+1/16	
					DataPd	447,900	25 1/2	+	1 1/2
					NPtmt	409,600	21 1/2	—	—

MARKET DIARY					WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows	High	Low	Last	Change	
389	360	904	23	54					

New York Stock Exchange					The American Stock Exchange				
Indust	Transp	Util	Finance	Composite	Indust	Transp	Util	Finance	Composite
108.2	87.8	44.4	81.0	82.2	108.2	87.8	44.4	81.0	82.2
105.4	85.2	44.1	80.3	80.0	105.4	85.2	44.1	80.3	80.0
107.5	87.6	44.2	80.3	81.6	107.5	87.6	44.2	80.3	81.6

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)					Total Sales				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng		Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
AT&T	9,975,300	15 1/2	+	3	400 Indust	181.6	178.6	180.1	+3.04
Disney	5,117,700	66 1/2	+	3	20 Transp	141.0	136.2	140.4	+3.22
Gulf Co	4,861,100	77 1/2	+	1 1/2	40 Util	65.0	64.3	64.5	-0.49
Supr Oil	4,669,800	41 1/2	+	1	40 Financial	17.7	17.1	17.4	+0.25
IBM	4,437,700	114	+	1 1/2	500 Stocks	160.4	156.3	159.1	+2.32
Citicorp	4,129,400	34	+	1 1/2					
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Mitel	3,798,300	8	—	1 1/2					
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Ford M	3,576,300	36 1/2	—	1 1/2					
Baxt Tr	3,255,000	16 1/2	—	1 1/2					



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935  
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

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## Phases of the Political Moon

America's attention span is now about nine days. If you doubt it, think back to Feb. 27, the day before the New Hampshire primary and recall how many phases the Democratic Presidential campaign has passed through in 34 days.

First came the Coronation Phase. On Feb. 27, every forecaster thought Walter Mondale would win New Hampshire, maybe even by as much as his 45-15 Iowa margin over Gary Hart.

Then came Hart Shock: The Colorado Senator's stunning victory created a cyclone that nearly blew the Mondale candidacy away. It took the former Vice President more than a week to get his feet on the ground.

Next came Super Tuesday. Mr. Hart won Florida and Massachusetts. But victories in Alabama and Georgia kept Mr. Mondale afloat until the campaign moved to the Industrial State Phase, starting with Michigan and Illinois, which Mr. Mondale won, and continuing now in New York Tuesday.

Four phases in five weeks, phases of a strange political moon. All of us pundits may not understand it, but we have plenty of labels for it: Violent gyrations. Startling velocity. Amazing volatility. Adam Clymer documented it last week in a report on a New York Times/CBS News Poll that found that about half of all Democrats have changed their choice for President in the last month. Why?

It's not our custom to recommend candidates in Presidential primary elections, but as New Yorkers prepare to head for the polls, that question deserves exploring.

Senator Hart, Mr. Mondale and the Rev. Jesse Jackson do not differ greatly about policies. All would raise taxes to protect economic growth. All would cancel the MX missile and the B-1 bomber. All support a nuclear freeze, equal rights for women and job initiatives.

## Pull New York Out of Its Ruts

You can feel it everywhere and see it best along the East River F.D.R. Drive. For at least 15 winters, icicles have dangled from the underside of the Drive's lanes, a clear symptom of the decay of New York City's major roads and streets, of the appallingly slow response by those responsible for repair and of the unconcern of political leaders.

No major Western city practices such neglect. We, certainly, let its finest avenues, like Fifth, generate into rutted, dangerous roadways. None is so palpably lost pride in its appearance or tolerance such damage and discomfort.

Many mortally ill streets, the underlying concrete roads and pipes and conduits rusting away, are only roughly patched from one freeze or meltdown to another. Many pockmarked streets are ignored until they damage vehicles and make even walking perilous. As General Motors has discovered, some streets in Queens are rougher than the rough track on which it tests buses.

Does anyone really care?

There are many excuses, and some were once acceptable. For long, New York was bankrupt, and when capital funds became available, the first priorities were the most dangerous bridges and roads.

In Manhattan, much other damage is inflicted by repair crews straining to reach equally neglected water pipes and sewers, electric conduits and telephone and steam ducts. Someone is always tearing up an asphalt divot.

But plainly, the city does not require a smooth and effective replacement — or fails to enforce its

Mr. Jackson sets himself apart on third-world issues and Senator Hart and Mr. Mondale are struggling to find a difference between them about how to employ American power abroad. But the differences are not pronounced.

With so little in the way of policy differences, voters are left to choose on the basis of personality and polemics. Whenever Senator Hart refers to "Vice President Mondale," he's not just being courteous. He's reminding voters of which little-known chief executive Mr. Mondale served. When Mr. Mondale says "What you see is what you get," he's not just promoting his comfortable familiarity. He's reminding voters of asserted inconsistencies in Mr. Hart's record.

The volatility may have other explanations. The Democratic convention is still four months away; voters may not yet be paying serious attention. With the economy recovering and in the absence of pressing foreign problems, they may also be too comfortable and distracted to get agitated at this stage of the campaign. Nonetheless, New York Democrats have a choice to make.

They must weigh Mr. Mondale's proven decency and long experience against Mr. Hart's freshness and vitality. Is Mr. Mondale a captive of special interests or a gifted conciliator able to forge consensus from many interests? Are Mr. Hart's success and effectiveness on television a triumph merely of technique or the product of a genuine vision for America? And is Mr. Jackson campaigning only for personal advancement or does a vote for him send a piercing signal about respect for black Americans and support for poor ones?

The good news about 1984's volatility is that one state after another ends up being pivotal, at least for a time. Now it's New York's turn, and the outcome here could end phase four — or launch phase five. The Democrats' vote will be interesting. Also important.

requirements. The divot becomes a hole, and instead of laboring round the clock to resurface entire blocks, officials mostly concentrate on long-term plans for major reconstruction. That planning is necessary, but it's no excuse for neglecting the economy and the appearance of New York.

Outside Manhattan, one is told, private builders skimped on the concrete bases that support many streets. One hears that traffic requirements mean only one major artery can be rebuilt at a time. One hears of reluctance to spend money for short-lived paving when surgery is planned eventually.

The Transportation Department thinks it's doing all it can. It says it hires private engineers to design most highway reconstruction. It says it is fighting for more funds, trying new methods and coordinating with other departments and utilities.

Yet judging by the results, the department and City Hall are not doing nearly well enough. No one really keeps track of the condition of all streets or even of all critical trouble spots. The balance between long-term and patchwork repairs may be dictated by present budgets, but if so, the budgets need changing. The driver who breaks an axle or spring does not appreciate such economy. The citizens and businessmen who see even vital arteries in disrepair will not invest in premises.

Restoring an old city's streets poses a greater challenge than building roads in open spaces. That's why Mayor Koch and his aides need to marshal resources on a grand scale and demonstrate urgency about this basic feature of urban life. Crime may be receding, but New York's streets are still unpleasant and all too often paralyzing.

## Topics

### Enlightenments

#### Under the Influence

The wintry March of 1845 was the month Henry David Thoreau borrowed an axe and went into the woods by Walden Pond to build a house. He was after a view, a lot that would afford him "leisure and opportunity to see the Spring come in."

Once situated, he could chide "We loiter in winter while it is already spring" and exhort fellow humans to "feel the spring influence." Under the influence himself, he preached that if people in general "should feel the influence of the spring of springs arousing them, they would of necessity rise to a higher and more ethereal life." As that March ended, he recorded "pleasant spring days, in which the winter of man's discontent was thawing as well as the earth, and the life that had lain torpid began to stretch itself."

After the malicious March of 1984, April, a floriferous month, is especially welcome. Its influence arouses the city, provokes volunteer cleanups of streets and subways, greenups of parks. We begin to stretch our stride, return to the holy jogging path. Our ethereal content rises fast as sap.

Already, birds work out their spring vocals. Horticultural forecasters confidently predict the blossom

front will continue north and east. The world's certifiable chlorophyll content increases by the blade, by the leaf, by the day.

#### Educator of the Spirit

Less visible but just as important to the civil rights movement as any political operatives were the leaders who offered inspiration and education. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, who died Wednesday at the age of 89, was one of the best of these.

He was the child of South Carolina sharecroppers, and decided early that the life of the spirit and of the mind were complementary and suitable to his talents.

Dr. Mays was ordained a Baptist minister and became dean of Howard University's School of Religion. As vice president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, he preached throughout the country.

He struggled to integrate all-white colleges but also championed predominantly black schools like Morehouse College in Atlanta. There, for 27 years, he inspired a new generation. His most prominent student was Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who referred to Dr. Mays as "my spiritual mentor and my intellectual father."

Teacher and preacher: It was a noble and powerful combination.

#### Greek Tables Turned

Though it pretends to independence, Greece's largest newspaper, *Ethnos*, is actually an "agent of influence" of the Soviet Union, according to Paul Anastasiades, a part-time correspondent of *The New York Times*. When his book documenting his case appeared, *Ethnos* brought criminal libel charges against him.

After a trial in which *Ethnos* presented evidence apparently resulting from illegal wiretaps on Mr. Anastasiades' home and office, he was sentenced to two years in prison.

Now the tables are turning. A Government prosecutor is investigating the wiretapping. And a Greek court has sentenced the publisher and editor of *Ethnos* to four months, or \$360, for libeling Mr. Anastasiades.

Mr. Anastasiades is still appealing his conviction. But his counter-victory is evidence that not all Greek justice is loaded against him. The argument over *Ethnos*, meanwhile, should proceed on the merits, without courts suppressing books or hounding a reputable reporter.

## Letters

### From Assured Destruction to Assured Survival

To the Editor:

Your editorial "So Talk About Arms Talks" (Feb. 28) identifies a number of items that allegedly point to the singular recalcitrance of the United States with respect to arms control negotiations. I am particularly disturbed by your assertion that President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative is one of the causes of U.S.-Soviet tension.

You contend that the President's strategic defense proposals "would abrogate the treaty limiting anti-missile systems and two others banning nuclear weapons and explosions in space." The High Frontier system would rely solely on kinetic energy kill, i.e., using the tremendous forces of impact at high velocity to destroy ascending missile boosters.

The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 is itself a child of the time-worn and morally bankrupt doctrine of mutual assured destruction (MAD), which has governed our strategic thinking for the last 20 years. Out of MADness has developed the notion that it is dangerous and destabilizing to defend one's citizens against a nuclear attack.

The High Frontier program would replace this ludicrous notion with the concept of assured survival for all peoples. We can also renegotiate or withdraw from the ABM Treaty in complete accord with its provisions, and we should do so as soon as is practical.

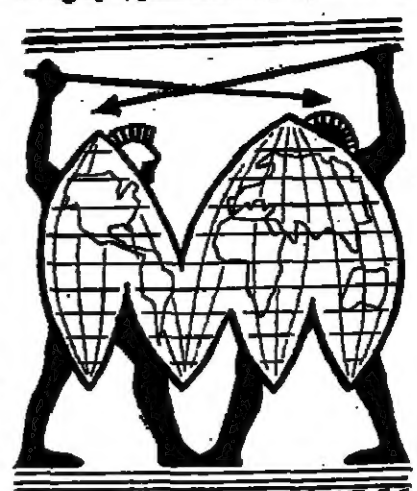
Moreover, by rendering the intercontinental ballistic missile practically obsolete through strategic defenses, the prospects for meaningful and significant arms reductions would become that much brighter.

You also posit that "the Russians oppose opening this Pandora's box, as do the NATO allies." This, too, is incorrect. The Soviets oppose the development of BMD systems only insofar as they wish to prevent the United States from developing them.

There is mounting evidence that the Soviets are forging ahead in all

areas of strategic defense. In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 8, Dr. Richard Delauer and Dr. Robert Cooper stated that the President's Strategic Defense Initiative is, at the outset, about 10 years behind Moscow's efforts in the realm of ballistic missile defense.

The Soviets possess the world's only operational anti-ballistic missile system. They are building a number of highly sophisticated, phased-array



radar facilities in Moscow, Abakovo and elsewhere, in clear violation of the ABM Treaty. They have also developed a new missile for ballistic missile defense, to be used with the SA-12 mobile air defense system. In his testimony before Congress, Dr. Cooper said that the Soviets could store thousands of these missiles, which could be used in a rapid breakout of the ABM Treaty.

Contrary to your assertion, our European allies are quite enthusiastic about ballistic missile defense. Last November, the 200 legislators at the North Atlantic Assembly, representing the parliaments and political parties of the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, adopted a resolution calling for the development of a three-layered,

space-based, ballistic missile defense system like High Frontier. Only one dissenting vote was cast.

Following a briefing by High Frontier leaders, these legislators recognized what all free peoples must acknowledge — that the High Frontier proposal would enable the free world to extricate itself from the brooding menace of nuclear destruction. High Frontier is non-nuclear, purely defensive, and would give us, for the first time, a defense that truly defends.

STEVEN P. ADRAIGNA  
Director of Public Education  
High Frontier, Inc.  
Washington, March 12, 1984

### Invitation to Attack

To the Editor:

Both the Jan. 21 test of the F-15 launched Miniature Vehicle ASAT (anti-satellite) and recent C.I.A. disclosures indicating that the Soviet Union is intensifying its missile defense efforts suggest that an era of superpower nuclear confrontation in space is quickly approaching. At least one scenario for such confrontation is especially worrisome.

Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are actively investigating use of space-based directed and hypervelocity kinetic energy weapons, the so-called "Star Wars" technology, to provide defense shields against exo-atmospheric weapons like ICBMs and SLBMs. President Reagan, in a March 23, 1983, speech, offered the hope that such a system could provide a purely defensive solution to the arms race and make the concept of mutual assured destruction obsolete.

Critics contend that the design goal of 99.9 percent effectiveness is unrealistic, under crisis conditions, for so complex a system and that a significantly less effective shield, because of overkill, would have dubious value. They also claim that a wide range of comparatively inexpensive countermeasures would be available to thwart the system.

Possession, by either side, of an impenetrable exo-atmospheric shield could be viewed as a guarantor of either peace or war. Our concern lies elsewhere, however.

One scheme for a space-based defense system would entail a minimum of 400 shuttle launches for deployment, and any system now being considered is likely to compare in expense with at least one leg of the existing U.S. nuclear triad.

If deployed over a period of years, an exo-atmospheric shield would present an opponent nation with a highly vulnerable target. Completion of the shield would certainly be regarded as a threat to that nation's security, and it is difficult to imagine that the shield would not be attacked before it becomes fully operational.

Destruction of so great a technical, financial, military and political investment would likely be regarded as an act of war by the victim of the attack. The alternative of pop-up deployment would be vastly more costly than phased deployment and, itself, could be regarded as an act of war.

We see no way in which deployment of a highly effective exo-atmospheric shield could be accomplished without posing the most extreme risk of a nuclear exchange.

It is vital that the U.S. immediately undertake the bold initiative of proposing a comprehensive ban on weapons in space, perhaps building on the Soviets' own 1983 ASAT initiative. Events are moving too quickly to permit delay.

ROBERT STACENIK  
Cambridge, Mass., March 4, 1984  
The writers are astrophysicists.

### The U.N. Is What Its Members Ask For

To the Editor:

Shirley Hazzard's latest attack on the United Nations system (Letter March 20) is no more helpful to a true understanding of the U.N.'s problems than are the refutations by official U.N. or UNESCO apologists. Miss Hazzard experienced the facts of U.N. Secretariat life at first hand and knows how to dramatize those facts at their worst but seems not to put them in any meaningful context.

To say the U.N. has been "politicized from earliest years by corrupt administrative practices" is to reverse cause and effect. The U.N. was politicized at birth. The whole institution, including its Secretariat, is the creature and servant of its highly political member states.

On those too-rare occasions when effective majorities — able not only to vote but to act — have developed solid common purposes, the Secretariat has served them well enough: often, in fact, with great ability and valor. But on the whole, the members' record over four decades, both in the halls of the U.N. and in the great world, is one of depressing political disarray and mutual incomprehension.

The result in the Secretariat, which has no right to a political will of its own, has been a political vacuum into which smaller and more ignoble interests, including all the normal corruptions of bureaucracy, have been allowed to penetrate.

The fault, dear Brutus, lies in our-

selves, the members — including above all the United States, the most powerful member and the one with the most to gain from a U.N. system that works. It is not primarily the fault of the bureaucratic professionals.

Americans, both in the Secretariat and in the U.S. Government, have labored year in and year out, with no small success, to discipline the U.N.'s budgetary and personnel practices. But most members of Congress have shown less interest in making the U.N. more efficient and honest than in kicking it when it isn't.

Poorly qualified appointees from this or that member state are an old story, but who is to blame — a Secretary General who too readily agrees to make such appointments, as has often been the case, or the members who unceasingly insist on them?

The favorite culprit in U.S. commentary on this and situation has been the third-world majority. That is certainly part of the story. But the chronically low priority which U.S. administrations have given to third-world relations ever since the big surprise of decolonization in the 1960's — except for brief spasms of attention in moments of crisis — that too is a historical fact, compounding the difficulties not alone of the U.N. but of the entire world community, of which this country is an inseparable part.

WALLACE IRWIN JR.  
Larchmont, N.Y., March 20, 1984  
The writer is a former staff member of the U.S. Mission to the U.N.

### 'Yuppies': The Making Of an Offensive Label

To the Editor:

I assumed that your first editorial endorsing "yuppies" as the proper term for "young urban professionals" was tongue-in-cheek. After your most recent editorial, "The Year of the Yuppies" [March 25], I'm not so sure.

In that editorial, you describe "yuppies" as "the educated, computer-literate, audiophile children of the baby boom." We are liberal on social issues, conservative on "social welfare" issues, "heavily liberal" on nuclear arms control and vehemently opposed to military intervention. Our international politics do not "represent a reasoned world view." And, oh yes, we "still listen to rock music [and] still wear wire-rimmed glasses." As Allison Portnick, Woody Allen's first love in "Annie Hall," commented, "I love being reduced to a cultural stereotype."

I can understand your fascination with the emergence of a new political generation. Moreover, as with most stereotypes, there may be some truth in this one. Even so, the "yuppie" label is offensive and patronizing.

Are you seriously suggesting that an entire generation has similar political beliefs, educational backgrounds and even styles of dress? (You forgot to mention that we drive BMW's, Volvos, Hondas or Saab's.) The thrust of the editorial seems to be that our views — once rejected as too radical — can now be rejected as a product of our culture, rather than of "reasoned" analysis.

The views of "yuppies" are no more or less "reasoned" or homogeneous than those of "puppies" (parents of urban professionals) or "guppies" (grown-up urban professionals), for that matter. I urge you to go lightly on the "yuppies" label.

JONATHAN V. HOLTZMAN  
San Francisco, March 27, 1984

### Nora Astorga's Brave and Principled Act

To the Editor:

The Times should apologize for its unwarranted and insulting attack on the character of Nora Astorga, lawyer and Government minister of Nicaragua ("Femme Fatale," editorial March 23).

Rather than using comparisons to Lola-Lola and Shanghai Lily, you might better have read the Bible and then compared Señora Astorga to Jael, who killed the general Sisera in her tent, or to Judith, who lured and killed the general Holofernes. These women were not afraid to use the weaknesses of the enemy and to take incredible personal risks (any reader can imagine Astorga's fate if Pérez Vega had survived).

The reported lament in the U.S. that, in helping to kill General Pérez Vega, Astorga put a valuable C.I.A. contact out of commission is shocking. The Somoza regime's abuses are well known today. How many tortured, imprisoned or murdered Nicaraguan citizens does it take to balance the life of one "valuable" C.I.A. contact?

Bravo, Nora, brave and principled fighter against cruelty and oppression! And shame on The Times for its own form of assassination, allow-

ing an intemperate and denigrating attack on this strong woman to appear in its respected pages as an editorial.

NANCY SEGAL  
Berkeley, Calif., March 24, 1984

### Salvadoran Prod to Vote

To the Editor:

A March 27 news story on the elections in El Salvador told us that "voting is compulsory" and that "citizens who have an election stamp on their national identity cards tend to feel more comfortable in their contacts with officials and security forces than those who do not."

Obviously, in a truly democratic election citizens have the right not only to choose among the various candidates but to withhold their votes. In view of the terror being conducted by death squads believed to be linked to Government security forces, the high voter turnout should come as no surprise and, our Administration's claim to the contrary notwithstanding, should not be interpreted as a sign of progress toward democracy.

Gloria Stevenson  
New York, March 27, 1984



The New York Times Company

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## The Old Party's Over

By Richard C. Wade

Next Tuesday's Presidential primary in New York raises again one of the most perplexing questions concerning American politics today — the rise of a new independence within the party system.

For the past six weeks, voters have continually confounded the "smart people" — columnists, experts, pollsters, elected officials and the Democratic National Committee. Just a few weeks ago, on the day of the Iowa caucuses, Walter F. Mondale was within reach of a coronation. He had the most impressive list of endorsements since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, the unprecedented support of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the most lavish financial backing ever accorded a candidate for the nomination and the almost unanimous prediction of victory from political commentators. Then, between Iowa and New Hampshire, the voters snatched back the crown.

How could this have happened? It was not simply Mr. Mondale's lack of "charisma" or even the discovery of a fresh candidate in Gary Hart.

Rather the explanation lies in the breakdown of party structure that began in the post-World War II generation. The dominant Democratic coalition, which had elected Franklin D. Roosevelt four times, produced sons and daughters who knew only two decades of unprecedented prosperity. With all the New Deal programs in place, they felt no automatic allegiance to the party that produced them. The private sector, not patronage, produced the jobs; Federal assistance depended primarily on a nonpartisan bureaucracy rather than on the favor of local political leaders; the G.I. Bill of Rights created a new generation of college graduates whose parents seldom even dreamed of higher education. The result is a new independence within the political system, where party now counts less and candidates

### The rise of independence

and issues more. Indeed, most polls now indicate that "independent" is either the largest or second largest "party."

Nor is it a partisan phenomenon. As early as 1964, Barry Goldwater found it in the Republican Party. George McGovern discovered it in his nomination in 1972. Now another generation is coming of voting age that was born and nurtured in this new independence. They know little of the Depression, less still of the old patronage arrangements and have never been active in party affairs. Expecting college education as a right, astonished at even 9 percent unemployment and inheriting a dangerous world of nuclear weapons, they seek hope, or at least protection, in the leaders that appear on the ballot, not the party that presents them.

It is fashionable now, especially among party leaders and political analysts, to look for ways to exhumate the old party influence. The Mondale candidacy was to have returned tidiness to the system. Elected officials would become delegates without either primary or caucus selection; the primary schedule would permit an early decision without divisiveness; and money would be saved for the general election rather than squandered in endless primaries. What was overlooked was the fact that the party apparatus alone is unable to nominate a candidate, much less elect him in November. Indeed, any overt attempt to do so by the leaders of either party simply encourages the independent judgment of the electorate.

In fact, this independence has even insulated itself into the two most cohesive parts of the old Democratic coalition. In the face of a united A.F.L.-C.I.O. effort in 1980, almost half the union membership defected to Ronald Reagan. Now, similarly, Senator Hart is attracting a large portion of the rank-and-file, especially among white-collar unions. The Jesse Jackson candidacy shattered another previously reliable Democratic bloc: Most black leaders are committed to Mr. Mondale, but black voters are going in another direction.

What, if anything, can be done? No doubt Democratic Party leaders will once again set up a commission to revise the delegate selection process in 1985. This has happened after every convention since the McGovern-Fraser Commission of 1968 and 1970 established the broad outlines of the present system, and each revision was designed to place more power in traditional party hands. Yet the independent genie is out of the bottle, and a wiser course would be to accommodate its consequences rather than fight them.

The fact is that the independents are not safe for either party, and they will remain a constant puzzle to pollsters, pundits and politicians as long as the "experts" think in the old terms. Senator Hart's phrase, "new ideas," struck a responsive chord among a group of voters who, while probably not yet a majority, are a growing influence in both parties and quite possibly will determine the Presidential outcome this fall.

Richard C. Wade is professor of urban history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.



## It's Still a Pentagon Budget

By Steven Wolfe and Robert Greenstein

WASHINGTON — The new Reagan budget plan, which is supposed to help reduce the Federal deficit, has been portrayed by the Administration as a balanced mix of defense and domestic spending reductions. The balance, however, is hard to find.

On the domestic side, the new budget plan would cut nearly twice as much as the original Reagan budget, unveiled in January, and would further shrink most social programs. At the same time, the new plan continues to provide hefty increases for the Pentagon, enlarging defense spending at twice the growth rate approved by Congress last year.

Moreover, because the new White House proposal avoids cutting major weapons, it leaves unchecked the heart of the defense budget problem: runaway weapons spending. Any serious effort to roll back the mounting Federal deficit must include restraint on new weapons as a central element.

Last year, Congress appropriated \$264 billion for defense. Under the Administration's new plan, defense appropriations for fiscal 1985 would jump to \$299 billion, a \$35 billion increase. Even after accounting for inflation, this is an increase of \$19 billion, or 7 percent. One year ago, when the deficit problem looked less traumatic than it does today, Congress approved an after-inflation defense increase of about 3.5 percent.

The new plan represents an increase for defense spending over the 1983 levels approved by Congress in last year's budget resolution. In fact, the nonpartisan Congressional

Budget Office has found that, when measured against last year's budget resolution, defense spending levels in the new White House proposal would actually enlarge the deficit, not shrink it.

This leaves us where we started several months ago: The President resists having defense contribute to reducing the deficit. He also resists the only strategy that would bring defense spending under control: tackling the burgeoning list of expensive new weapons purchases.

Weapons spending has driven the defense budget since 1981 and looms even larger in the future. The share of defense spending going to "investment" (research and production of new weapons plus military construction) has risen from 37 percent in 1980 to a projected 50 percent in 1985.

The costs of weapons systems are spread over several years, with the bulk of the spending coming after the first year. Thus, the costs we are now seeing for new weapons systems are just the tip of the iceberg.

In addition, the cost of new weapons tends to rise well beyond initial predictions. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the Pentagon has understated the cost of its planned weapons systems and other procurements by \$72 billion over the next five years. The General Accounting Office recently reported that the entire defense program may be underestimated by as much as \$300 billion over the same period. In future years, we can expect sharp upward revisions in Pentagon budget requests and arguments for spending additional billions to complete projects whose costs were initially understated.

Steven Wolfe is a research associate with the defense budget project at the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a public-policy organization. Robert Greenstein is Center director.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Thanks to Congress

By Flora Lewis

PARIS, March 31 — Secretary of State George Shultz has been complaining insistently about Congressional restraints on the Administration's foreign policy.

He is particularly chafed by the War Powers Act, which he blames somehow for the fiasco in Lebanon. There is thought of asking the Supreme Court to rule it unconstitutional. Mr. Shultz says relations between the executive and Congress are "badly defective" and "unsatisfactory."

He has a point. Capitol Hill has been braking the Administration's muscular plans in Lebanon and Central America. The two branches of government do not share the same idea of what the U.S. should and could do about these conflicts.

He is also right that this leads to confusion among friends and adversaries on what they can expect. A successful foreign policy requires the U.S. to show "reasonable predictability and reliability," as he says.

But it needs a lot more than that. It needs a correct assessment of the troubles the U.S. confronts, and of the consequences of its words as well as its deeds. He said himself that "we have to be very careful when we say that we will have to do this and so on that we think something isn't tolerable or acceptable." U.S. credibility is damaged not only by failing to carry out threats but by making unwieldy threats and unreasonable promises in the first place.

There is an enormous leap between failing to convince Congress that the Administration is on the right track, especially where lives are involved, and blaming duly constituted laws for that failure. The Secretary doesn't seem to consider the possibility that better crafted policy, more candidly explained, might win more of the support of which he feels deprived.

He told James Reston of The New York Times that the U.S. had a good diplomatic plan, but it had the rug pulled out from underneath it in Lebanon. He told The Washington Times that the problem was America's inability to cope philosophically with terrorism, a reference to bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut.

What plan was that? The record is revealing. There is now convincing evidence that the U.S. endorsed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and that then Secretary of State Alexander Haig was aware of Gen. Ariel Sharon's intention to go all the way to Beirut. The Marines were sent to help end the murderous siege by insuring the safe withdrawal of Yasir Arafat and his P.L.O. fighters. Then the Marines left.

Soon after came the huge massacre in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. The Marines, and allied troops, were sent back to prevent a recurrence.

Then the U.S. promoted the May 17 Israeli-Lebanese agreement. President Gemayel said later he had warned it could never work without Syria's accord. He said Mr. Shultz told him not to worry, the U.S. is a big power and it could arrange such things.

American diplomats throughout the Middle East knew Syria would not agree. Some tried to tell Mr. Shultz and were nearly removed for the effort. Others noted he didn't want to be told the plan wouldn't work. He was determined to score the "success" of getting a document signed.

That much he achieved. It led to partial Israeli troop withdrawal, with plenty of notice. The U.S. then realized more fighting would erupt among the Lebanese, but it couldn't make the Israelis stay after brokering a withdrawal plan.

So the U.S. began to intervene in the fighting. The initial "peacekeeping" mission of the Marines and their Navy support was converted into the task of helping President Gemayel fight his overarmed compatriots. It was precisely to avert such a trap that Congress invoked the War Powers Act in the first place.

The barracks bombing was dramatic demonstration that the executive had indeed made badly deployed, inadequate U.S. forces a party to the conflict, not just neutral peacekeepers, against the expressed will of Congress. It wasn't the terrorists themselves who drove out the Marines. It was the proof they gave that Administration policy had been inconsistent and incoherent.

In Central America, there have been repeated zigzags from the Administration on the purpose of training and supplying Nicaraguan rebels. Sometimes we're told it's to make the Sandinistas democratic, sometimes it's to overthrow them. Salvador has been a waffle. The U.S. military role in Honduras is murky, at best.

Does Mr. Shultz's grievance at Congressional restraint mean the Administration seeks freedom to send tens of thousands of troops into both Lebanon and Central America? Does it want to play the role the Russians are playing in Afghanistan? The effect would be about the same, probably worse.

Even suspicion of bumbling into this should make the country, and the White House, too, grateful to Congress. The Administration has been spared the burden of military mistakes it wasn't allowed to make.

### WASHINGTON

## The Fool's Paradise

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 31 — "I feel more at home in Washington," the April Fool said in our annual interview, "especially during Presidential election years. Everybody's so wonderfully foolish."

Q. What did you expect?  
A. I'm such a fool, I keep hoping that one year somebody will come along and talk sense to the American people.

Q. The last guy who did that was Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, and Eisenhower clobbered him twice. Right?  
A. But even so, I didn't expect a campaign about who has "the beef," who got cuff links from the Koreans and who got jobs from Ed Meese.

Q. Please be civil. What do you think of the candidates?  
A. Just right. If they were any better we wouldn't have them, and if they were any worse we couldn't stand them. Between us, I'm a little disappointed.

Q. Why?  
A. Well, as the President says, I was just thinking what fun we'd have this year if the parties chose the best of the worst: instead of the other way around. The Republicans have such glorious opportunities.

Q. I'm losing you.  
A. They could nominate the two Bakers or the two Doles, which would be sensible, successful and funny.

Q. You're making me dizzy. Please explain.

A. It's obvious that Senator Baker of Tennessee knows more about how to get the Congress together than anybody else, O.K.?

Q. Impossible, but go on.  
A. And that Jim Baker of Texas, another Republican, is the smartest cook in the White House, O.K.?

Q. That's no compliment, and please don't say "O.K." What about the Doles?

A. Just think about the possibilities of a husband-and-wife ticket. Dole is not only the smartest man in the Senate but the funniest. His wife is not only a member of the Cabinet, but would clearly pick up the female vote. He would manage the budget and she would manage him, and we could have a Bob and Liddy TV fireside chat from the Oval Office every Sunday night.

Q. You really are a fool. Aren't you dreaming?

A. That's what fools are for. I was thinking that it's not the dreamers but the fighters who are getting us in trouble. Washington has won the cold war and doesn't know it. The Administration won't talk and it won't laugh.

Q. You're beginning to preach. What about the Fritz and Gary show?  
A. It's a smash! Funniest thing since Reagan's early movies and Wrong-Way Corrigan. They'd rather win the nomination than the election. Let me tell you something — just between us and off the record: I think there's a mole in their headquarters and their campaign is being run by the Republican National Committee.

Q. What about Reagan?  
A. Smartest character in town. He takes credit for everything that's good and blames the Democrats and the press for everything that's bad, all with a wave and a smile.

Q. For example?  
A. If he meant to "balance the budget and didn't, that's too bad and he'll think about it later. When we got in trouble in Lebanon, he merely redeployed the troops, and we're still standing tall, despite Tip O'Neill and the Congress.

Q. You're saying Reagan's a fraud?  
A. I'm saying he's a political genius. He takes advantage of everything, and responsibility for nothing. If Ed

### A campaign reverie

Meese, or Charlie Wick, or Judge Clark or any of his other buddies get in trouble, he defends them all on the grounds that they're his pals and nice guys.

Q. How do you explain this?  
A. On April Fool's Day, I come back here to explain to you that we're all fools, and have to laugh at ourselves. That's why Reagan is doing so well and the angry Democrats are doing so badly. He may very well be a disaster, but you know what? He's like the American people — amiable, well-meaning and a little bit dumb about the world.

Q. Who will win the election?  
A. The way things are going, nobody. Reagan's too old and Hart doesn't even know his own age.

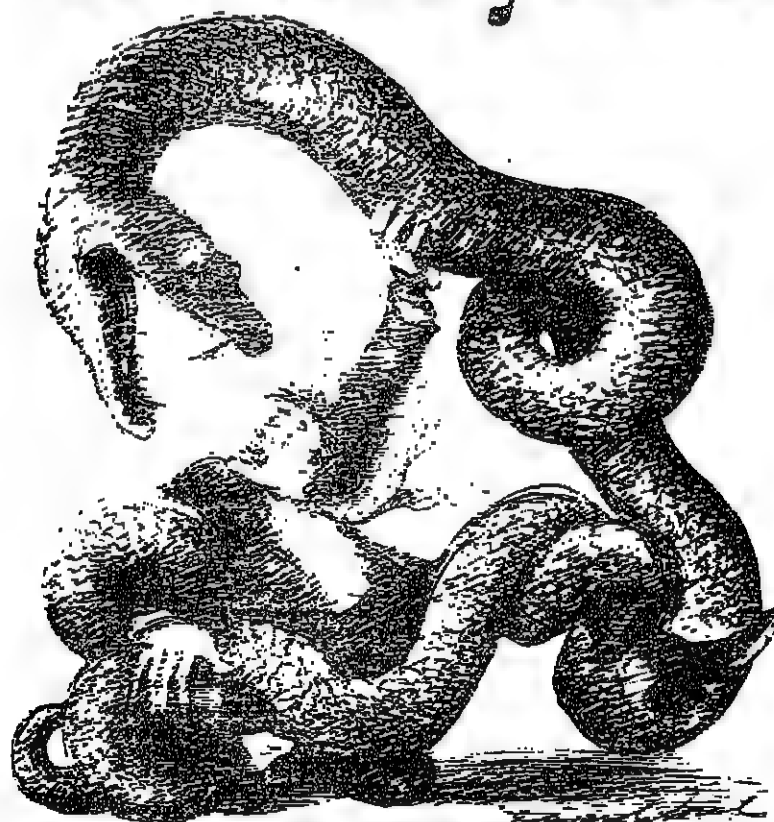
Q. Any suggestions?  
A. Bring back the smoky room and nominate somebody else.

Q. How do you think the fools will vote this year?

A. We hold the balance of power, but we don't vote. That's why we're called fools.

Q. Let me ask you a personal question. Does it ever hurt to be a fool?  
A. Only when I laugh.

## Democracy in America may be good for about 10 more years.



Richard Bolling served in Congress for more than 30 years as one of its most respected Members. He's come to some strong conclusions about special interest political action committee (PAC) money and its impact on the political system.

"I think it is the issue. I think it is the one issue that has to be solved if we're going to have a democratic process in this country 10 years from now."

By the time the 1984 election is over, PACs will have poured more than 100 million dollars into the coffers of congressional candidates.

"The people have to govern. Not money," says Rep. Bolling. "That's what democracy is all about."

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# Do Movies Predict Public Mood?

By LESLIE GELS

WASHINGTON Foreign policy is the extension of domestic politics, values and culture by other means. So, even a national security correspondent for this newspaper has to do more than talk to soldiers, politicians, diplomats, taxi drivers and barbers to keep his finger on the pulse of the nation. What I do is go to the movies.

This is not just frivolous fun, though most things are preferable to hearing people talk about nuclear war all the time. It turns out, at least the way movies have struck me over time, that moviemakers may do better than political pundits at guessing what is on the public mind and anticipating trends.

Washington produces lemmings, with everyone following everyone else's predictions along some safe and conventional path. That means not taking any risks and basically staying with the old and familiar. It means predicting that people like Richard M. Nixon and Ronald Reagan could never make political comebacks and be President, or that unknowns like Jimmy Carter or Gary Hart could never make it either. But

moviemakers, some of them at least, are like smart businessmen, looking to catch the wind, find something new, make a buck, take a chance.

Anyway, there is a lot of magic in politics, and successful moviemakers and people who get to be President of the United States have to know about magic.

Whatever the reason, from the vantage point of a political analyst and movie buff, the record suggests that for decades, movies have sensed and sometimes even shaped American political culture, at times seeing the future better than the political forecasters. The movies are sometimes explicitly political — but not necessarily so. Sometimes they capture Americans' sense of themselves more indirectly, through plots or dramatization of moral values. In this viewer's movie crystal ball now is a country that seems to be moving toward the liberals' vision — or nightmare — of Government run by dark forces and a world on the edge of nuclear war.

For those fearful of a sinister and authoritarian Government, the list, in recent years, includes: "Missing," with Jack Lemmon as a straight and patriotic businessman from New York, of all places, "discovering" that his Government has been schem-

ing with the Chilean dictators; "Blue Thunder," where a marvelously monstrous helicopter that was to help the California police help Federal agents pave the way for a right-wing takeover is turned against its creators; and "Silkwood," which hints at devious plots between Government and business to protect the nuclear industry.

"Under Fire," a not very popular film at the box office, hammers hard at the point that the United States was supposedly on the wrong side, namely against the people, in the Nicaraguan civil war, and implicitly argues that Washington makes this mistake time and again in opposing revolution in the third world.

For those with nuclear war gnawing at their insides, there is "WarGames," where a smart teen-age computer-whiz almost starts a holocaust, and ABC's television film, "The Day After," where Armageddon actually happens.

Overarching all is the message from "Gandhi" — not an American film, but one that was hugely popular here — which propounds peace through passive resistance, not use of arms.

On the conservative side of the film ledger, there are slim pickings. The makers of "The Right Stuff" were

banking on the continuing allure of flag-waving patriotism and pride in Americans who can do everything. It did not work well at the box office or elsewhere.

The overriding themes of these films in recent years cannot be dismissed as "mere entertainment." Many of the liberal-nightmare movies did well at the box office. They also coincided with the emergence of foreign policy as a major point of contention in the coming Presidential election, worries about a Government increasingly collusive with big business and the nuclear freeze movement.

Some synergism was there. The filmmakers sensed the trends and reinforced them.

They have been doing so for a long time, though a retrospective look is bound to be highly selective. No movie captured the American spirit of the 1950's and 60's — the assumption that good will triumph over bad, which was the prevailing ethos until it started disintegrating in the mid-60's — better than the classic and voluminously analyzed 1952 film "High Noon." A good sheriff with courage and skill, even without the help of timorous townspeople, beats out the bad guys against all odds. Americans can do anything, if they put their minds to it. It was the kind of romantic optimism that led most Americans to think that winning the Vietnam war would be a piece of cake.

In 1971, at the height of the anti-Vietnam war mood, came "McCabe and Mrs. Miller" — among the first in a spate of disillusioned variations and subversions of that quintessential American genre, the western. It is essentially the same plot as "High Noon": The bad guys are going to kill someone if he does not get out of town by a certain time. But everything else is transformed. Instead of the virtuous sheriff, Gary Cooper, the hero is the town drunk, Warren Beatty. Instead of the virginal Grace Kelly standing behind her man, it is a prostitute played by Julie Christie. But this one ends with the bad guys gunning down Mr. Beatty and Miss Christie drowning her sorrows in an opium den.

"McCabe and Mrs. Miller" is "High Noon" after the experience of Vietnam. Heroes become antiheroes. American values are turned inside out. Optimism turns out to be a delusion. America, for the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930's, is filled with self-doubt and doom about its future.

This early mood of Vietnam and the pre-Watergate era is captured in "The Graduate." Dustin Hoffman,

# Arts & Leisure

along with the Vietnam generation, rejects a hypocritical society and the traditional values of his parents and seeks salvation in love. Jack Nicholson in "Five Easy Pieces" plays a gifted concert pianist who throws it all away and works in the oil fields. The year before, in "Easy Rider," he had dropped out entirely and delivered that famous line for kids of the day that went something like, "This used to be a great country and somehow they've taken it away from us."

"Deerhunter" — coming soon after Vietnam — is the transitional film, trying to reconcile the hell of the Vietnam war with honest patriotism. Three lower-middle-class men from a poor mining town go off to Vietnam draped in the American flag. They find Vietnam senseless and horrible.

But they also discover that the Vietnamese Communists are beasts, and not just simple peasants fighting for

timism, and simple truths. The groundwork was being laid for Ronald Reagan.

In the first "Rocky," Sylvester Stallone is a punch-drunk boxer who cannot fight his way out of a paper bag. By a fluke, he gets the chance to fight the champ. He runs, drinks raw eggs and earns the love of a woman. He wins. The odds were even more against him than Gary Cooper. He keeps making more Rocky movies. Just as good is "Breaking Away." There is this big bicycle race that pits the poor and bedraggled townies, sons of speculators, against the rich and svelte guys from the university. They had nothing going for them, except guts, and they win, too. We could do anything, if we regained our confidence in ourselves and our values.

"Star Wars," which is a great adventure film that would have been popular any time, to be sure, brings movies full circle back to the great westerns of the 1940's and 50's. No mistaking the good guys dressed in white for the bad ones in black.

America was tired of self-flagellation. People wanted to have fun, as they could with "Superman" and "Raiders of the Lost Ark." They wanted to bask in nostalgia, as they did in "Diner." They wanted to feel good about themselves, and not be lectured about the great malaise. Ronald Reagan, who was seemingly washed up in American politics, symbolized these feelings, and the voters recognized that in 1980.

These sentiments have not vanished. People continue to feel upbeat about America's future, judging by the public opinion polls. And if films like "An Officer and a Gentleman" are any indication, they still want to believe in the rewards of determination and in patriotism.

The messages from "Gandhi," "WarGames," "Missing," "Silkwood" and the others do not represent a return to Vietnam and Watergate malaise. But if the filmmakers once again have their fingers on the public pulse, they show that a lot of Americans are worried about war, about suppression of human and civil rights and about collusion between big business and big government. These movies do not mean that Mr. Reagan will be defeated in November. But they are a warning that some unexpected political magic may be brewing again in this country.

## Filmmakers sense and reinforce the currents running through our society.

Independence. Score one for the conservatives. Maybe even more importantly, when the survivors return home, mangled physically and mentally, they still love their country. The movie ends with their singing "God Bless America." In other words, the war was bad, but those who had to fight and die in it were not, nor was the United States evil. America was coming out of the doldrums and self-doubt.

Jimmy Carter was a transitional President. He incorporated all the confusion of the times: The war was evil, but lost American values were good and had to be recaptured.

Moviemakers, again, had the answer, or at least saw it coming. It was to forget all the complications and ambiguities and return to basic American principles: hard work, op-

# It's Mad, but It's MacLaine

By ALJEAN HARMETZ

LOS ANGELES Every day during this hot, unbearably dry California winter, Shirley MacLaine has begun the morning by climbing a mountain.

In recent years, the 49-year-old actress has climbed a lot of mountains. In the Himalayas in 1968, she was a pragmatist, even at 14,000 feet when a piece of saffron scarf blessed by a lama served as talisman against a leopard. By the time she stood naked in a mineral spring in the Peruvian Andes in 1982, she had become a mystic and allowed her soul to float free from her wet body.

She is still a mystic, but she has more practical reasons for the daily one-hour climb up a fire trail through the tangled sage and sumac of this California hill. She is getting her legs in shape for "The Shirley MacLaine Show" she will open at Broadway's Gershwin Theater on April 19. She started her career in New York 30 years ago, magically moving from the chorus center stage when Carol Haney broke a leg and she took over as the star of "The Pajama Game." Despite five Academy Award nominations as best actress, including her current nomination for "Terms of Endearment," she is most likely to refer to herself still as a dancer. "This dancer's body," she will say, or "These dancer's legs," or "It's not easy for a dancer my age."

At less than a month, she will be 50. "It's what almost 50 looks like," she says, grinning, — a grin that is around and around her face like a goldfish started out of hiding. From her cropped chestnut hair to her short red boots with stiletto heels, she is crisp and firm and sleek. Four tiny separate dots of gold pierce each ear.

In daylight, she could pass for 40; in candlelight, for 30. In "Terms of Endearment," she played an obsessive mother from the age of 23 and the birth of her daughter to the age of 55 and her daughter's death. "To have gone from 23 to 55 would have been a snap," she says. "What was difficult was to make 23 different from 35, 35 different from 45."

In real life, too, she has an actor's chameleon ability to play the age appropriate to the moment. But, at this particular moment, real life is defining the length of her career. Christopher Adler, the slight, dark-haired young man who is currently defrosting a steak in the microwave oven of her Malibu apartment, was an infant when he was brought backstage at "The Pajama Game" by his father, Richard Adler, who wrote music and lyrics for that show. Now, 30 years later, Chris Adler is writing the one-woman-and-four-backup-dancers show Shirley MacLaine will bring to Las Vegas and then, for five weeks, to Broadway.

Why does she so often return to Broadway instead of remaining a proper movie star, in Hollywood? "I love live audiences," Miss MacLaine says. "I love New York. It's my home. Where I started as a chorus girl eating graham crackers and peanut butter and, when I could afford it, Wheaties. It's where you test your mettle."

On screen, she is deceptively fluffy. Off screen, there is a surprising toughness in her stride. "What's the graceful, approving word for selfish?" asks James Brooks, the writer-director of "Terms of Endearment." "When Shirley wants herself, she'll have herself no matter who's in the room. She has whole houses she goes to for privacy."

She retreats to one of those houses, somewhere in the Pacific Northwest, to write her books. Unlike many celebrities, who attach their names to books that were in reality ghostwritten, she has written her three books of autobiography unaided. She speaks of her writing as "a way of getting my thoughts clear" and adds that to think of herself as a writer would be "presumptuous." Yet, in her first book, "Don't Fall Off the Mountain," the foibles of her restrictive Virginia childhood and of her early years in



Syga/Nancy Ellison

"I'm a combination of body and spirit," she says.

Hollywood, when her husband lived in Japan and their daughter flew from one parent to the other, were gracefully and sometimes wickedly observed.

Her third book, "Out on a Limb," published last year, has less graceful prose and a harsher purpose — to reconstruct her internal journey from casual Protestant skeptic to an acceptance of reincarnation and the trance channeling of souls through mediums.

"I firmly believe I've lived before and will live again," she says as she chops several cloves of raw garlic into her plate of spinach. "But mysticism has not cost her her sense of humor. 'A new test of metaphysical techniques tonight is to get rid of the smell so nobody will be burdened with it tomorrow.'"

Nor have spiritual discoveries stilled her legendary appetite. She spears pasta and Caesar salad from a companion's plate and paints word pictures of frozen chocolate bars and "the cold of ice cream beneath the warmth of hot fudge. It's very hard on me not to eat a hot fudge sundae at every meal."

Food has been infinitely more enticing than drugs, she says. "I've smoked two joints in my life. Someone handed me cocaine at a party in a dish with a gold spoon. I thought it was Sweet-N-Low and put it in my coffee."

She is still a compulsive traveler. "But now I journey outwardly to travel inwardly," she says. "Until 10 years ago, I spent a great deal of time developing my mind and body. Now I'm a combination of body and spirit."

She came to the first preview of "Terms of Endearment" with pyramid dust in her hair, having spent the previous four nights alone with candle and tape recorder in a pharaoh's tomb. "It was 20 degrees and because of the energy generated by my belief that it meant something to be in there, I was perspiring after an hour."

She often puts her spirit to such practical purposes — calmly writing during traffic jams on the frustrating 20-mile trip from Malibu to Hollywood along the Pacific Coast Highway or making an intestinal flu vanish in six hours.

Losing her skepticism has, she says, made her less judgmental. "I have enough trouble understanding all the meanings of my lives. How can I possibly sit in judgment on someone else? Because I didn't judge Aurora Greenway, I could play her with a sense of love. She was never a viper or a python to me. She just loved her daughter so much she couldn't give her breathing room. There is a part of me that wanted to be all-consumingly indulgent in my love for my daughter, Sachie, that I didn't allow."

In the beachfront apartment house that Shirley MacLaine built nearly 30 years ago with the \$25,000 she earned from "The Matchmaker," the sound of the Pacific Ocean is endless. At high tide the water pours under the building and laps at the road. She can no longer sleep without the sound, and so when she travels she carries, as her security blanket, a machine that mimics rain, waterfalls and surf.

This apartment — which she shares with her 27-year-old daughter Sachie — is as much her home as any of the other physical spaces that she has owned. Everything in the living room is immense in scale, from the vines that climb and fall the walls to the redwood couch and chairs that are not so much furniture as slabs of polished trees. The coffee table seems a thousand pounds of burnished driftwood, and it took 10 men to carry the couch up the stairs. Enormously thick, round candles — well-used, one side melted away — sit in clumps on the floor in jade holders.

There is no psychological barrier to be overcome about what to do next, since she has already dashed off her follow-up film, a casual cameo with old friends Dean Martin, Frank Sinatra, and Sammy Davis Jr. in a road race movie, "Cannonball II."

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PROF. ABRAHAM CHANIN, of the University of Arizona's graduate school of journalism, thinks that Israel's image abroad is not as bad as many Israelis fear — and that at any rate, the press is not as influential an opinion-maker as many believe.

"One of the many misimpressions about the Israeli image abroad is that Israel has a bad press internationally," he told *The Jerusalem Post* in a recent interview. The professor, who is in Israel as the guest of Ben-Gurion University's Humphrey Centre of Social Ecology, makes a distinction between the press of the western democracies and that of the Soviet bloc, which is a government-controlled propaganda machine.

In the West, even in countries where the official position is pro-LO, there are often editorials in leading newspapers in Israel's favor, said Chanin.

He had recently visited Australia, and while a pro-Palestinian government position was being expressed here, an editorial cited Israel as the only stable country in the Middle East. In American newspapers, too, there has been a much greater understanding of Israel since Lebanon, and I think Israel's position internationally is much stronger than it was six months ago.

Another misimpression concerns the Israeli press.

There is no realization, he said, that the Israeli press is one of the most free in the world. Thus, the press in Israel was much harder on Sharon and Begin than many American newspapers, Chanin said. One of the things that is really being lost on the West is the strength and the freedom of the Israeli media to really speak their piece.

Fear of Arab petrodollars buying at the media in key western countries to further the campaign against Israel is largely unfounded. "You must give the readers of newspapers and the viewers of television more credit than that. They will not accept slanted views if spurs are owned outright by Arab interests."

THE REAL problem, according to Chanin, is worse: the tendency of business to take over large numbers of newspapers.

"We have one chain of newspapers in the United States that has more than 100 newspapers under its control. That's the Gannett chain."

## Second look at the press

By LIORA MORIEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Lord Thomson, who began in Canada, now has newspapers throughout the world. You begin to wonder what would happen if one of these powerful publishers wanted an editorial to appear in every one of those newspapers. You would have, in effect, thought control, wouldn't you?

Canada, to curb this dangerous trend, has tabled a bill which, if enacted, would limit ownership of newspapers to two per publisher. This is not, however, likely to be copied in the U.S.

"The danger in the U.S. is that independent publishers and independent newspapers are disappearing as big business is moving in. We are losing daily papers at a rather alarming rate. Right now we have no head-to-head competition of American newspapers in 97.5 per cent of our cities. This is a real worry."

Chanin is anxious about the freedom of the press, rare as it already is, when wire services replace other news sources and satellites give people everywhere uniform information. This revolution may take 30 years; another danger is more tangible: untrained journalists.

"Independence, as far as I'm concerned, is the key to democratic journalism. The other key is the responsibility of journalists." A professional journalist, trained by Chanin, would try to be fair, to get both sides and quote the person interviewed directly and accurately.

CHANIN BELIEVES in an ongoing dialogue between the press and the public. "One of the great faults of journalism anywhere is not talking to readers and viewers enough."

He cited three recent examples of news blackouts sanctioned by democratic countries.

During the first stage of the Lebanon war, when there was a

news blackout in Israel, "reporters were sending all their material out of Lebanon and that's where all the terribly wrong statistics came from."

The journalists, said Chanin, should have explained to their readers where their material came from and how it was secured, "and there should be a clear definition of the problems of reporting from repressive countries."

In Grenada, too, there was an initial news blackout. The fact that a mental hospital was bombed, for example, did not get to the public.

"People don't realize how important freedom of the press is. The public doesn't understand, either in the U.S. or in Israel, that freedom of the press does not belong to the news media but to the people. If the people really understand that the press is there to act as a conduit between them and government, we would have greater strength for the news media from the public."

Chanin's third example was Britain's curbing of the press during the Falklands war. The British government "gave a tremendous amount of misinformation and disinformation," said Chanin. "I don't think the Israeli press or television would have stood for that."

CLAIMS THAT it is the press that controls the government, a popular notion among politicians here recently, "is a bit of buffoonery, because the press doesn't have that kind of power. The real issue is leaks by government ministers and representatives."

"They're using the media and controlling it. I wish that newsmen throughout the western world would stop using unattributed quotations, get away from saying 'a source close to the government.' Why should the newspaper take the rub for carrying a leak for some government official who's trying to carry out some kind of policy without using his or her name?"

Once this is done and all sources are on the record, unless matters of security are involved, then two things will happen: the public will be more informed about how newspapers get and disseminate the news; and there will be fewer leaks. As for the public, it will regain confidence in the news media. Government officials will also realize that the papers are responsible and the democratic tradition will be stronger all around.

## Honouring the flag

LAW REPORT  
Asher Felix Landau

outing words alone would be sufficient.

The court does not lean towards interpreting Law as creating criminal offences, and section 5 must be interpreted in the light of the basic right of every man to freedom of speech and expression, even if his opinions were in poor taste and generally unacceptable.

Judge Naor then referred to a precedent of the Supreme Court of the United States dealing with an insult to the American flag, in which the court said:

"Such a conviction could not be supported on the theory that by making the above-quoted remarks about the flag appellant failed to show the respect for our national symbol which may properly be demanded of every citizen...The case is made difficult not because of the principles of its decision are obscure but because the flag involved is our own."

"Nevertheless, we apply the limitations of our Constitution with no fear that freedom to be intellectually and spiritually diverse or even contrary will disintegrate the social organization. Freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order."

"We have no doubt that the constitutionally guaranteed freedom to be intellectually diverse or even contrary and the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order encompass the freedom to express publicly one's opinions about our flag, including those opinions which are defiant or contemptuous."

It was true that the court in that case had based itself on the Constitution of the United States and in Israel there was no written Constitution. Nevertheless, in several decisions which Judge Naor cited, the Supreme Court of Israel had laid down the same principles. On the other hand, that court had held that freedom of expression was not a special right over and above other basic rights, and did not justify unbridled licence in the expression of opinions.

"A balance must be found between this right and other basic rights. In some instances, such as in the statutory provisions relating to libel and contempt of court, the legislature itself had defined that balance. Where the legislature had not done this it was, in a case such as the present, for the prosecution to decide, as a matter of policy, whether or not to indict the accused. Since, however, the prosecution had decided to press the charge, it was for the court to determine whether the accused had committed the offence or not."

ACTING on the assumption that words alone could constitute an offence under section 5, Judge Naor reached the conclusion that in the circumstances of this case an offence had not been committed. The words used must be interpreted in their context. The whole interview was in a humorous vein, and was in fact a satire on the independence of the State and the way in which it was celebrated. In fact, the relevant part of the incident opened with the words, "By virtue of my office as foreign minister of Natorai Kartia." The accused was in fact commenting on the nature of the Independence Day celebrations, of which the hoisting of flags was a part, and not on the flag itself.

What really aroused indignation was the accused's general attitude towards the State and its independence. A reasonable person reading the words in their context would not understand them as expressing contempt or insult towards the flag itself, but merely as a natural consequence of Hirsch's general attitude towards the State. It would be too far-fetched to regard expressions such as these, used with humour and satire, as a criminal offence.

Judge Naor warned the accused against misunderstanding the meaning of his acquittal. The court rejected his opinions completely and utterly; the question, however, was not whether the words used deviated from what was accepted by national consensus, but whether they constituted a crime. These words, in their proper context, did not constitute an insult to the flag. On the contrary, a reasonable man reading the interview as a whole would regard the accused as having exposed himself and his opinions to derision and ridicule.

For the above reasons, the accused was acquitted.

Pakad Nadav Blum appeared for the prosecution, and advocate Hanna Hovav for the accused.

Judgment was delivered on January 24, 1984.

(Advertising Section)



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'Up to 30% of farmers should get out of the business'

## Remedy for crisis in agriculture

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The director-general of the Agriculture Ministry, Meir Ben-Meir, yesterday came out squarely against the philosophy of competition as a way of solving the problems of the country's farmers. Speaking at the annual convention of the Agricultural Engineering Association at the Technion, Ben-Meir said that competition would wipe out the "tight-knit farming establishment" and instead create big ranches, with all the social and employment problems that entails.

Instead of free competition there must be government direction to serve the national goals, which include a large farming population.

Thanks to the country's highly advanced technology, there was so much overproduction that only exports could save the day, "and it is unfair and distorted to compare farm exports with industrial exports. Agriculture should be compared with the farm exports of other countries, he said. There is no

reason why Israel should not provide its farmers with the 10 to 15 per cent support that the ten EEC countries give their farmers."

Ben-Meir said that the technological revolution, with its stress on capital intensity, made an organizational reform of agriculture inevitable.

Such a reform was particularly urgent for small farms, which could not afford the latest technology or the equally important modern financial management.

The answer, according to Ben-Meir, is cooperatives, both within the villages and between them.

"The country must decide whether it wants the veteran villages, Nahalal and Tel Adashim, to flourish and the new ones, like Noga and Sde Moshe, to be turned into social slums because the newcomers are unable to modernize on their own." There was already a deepening social crisis in the newer villages, which would become worse unless the government stepped in to help with reform, he warned.

He said that a ministry survey had shown that the less efficient 20 to 30 per cent of the more than 20,000 farms were pulling down the rest with them. "We must provide these farmers with an alternative livelihood in order to enable the others to survive."

He also warned that with all the understanding the Common Market was showing Israel, the imminent entry of Spain into the Market would make it harder for our farm exports. "We must start to take countermeasures by lowering transportation costs by sending more produce by sea, instead of by air. The local market must be reserved to local produce. We can produce beef as cheaply as Argentina and we must not revert to the recent madness of importing orangeade."

The convention was attended by 250 engineers, who were told that the Technion's agricultural engineering faculty with 250 students was the largest in the world. During its 32 years of operation the faculty has turned out 1,100 engineers.

## The man who saw Israel Bond sales in Europe rise to \$34m. last year

By HYAM CORNEY  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — After almost 17 years of "exile" in the diaspora, which he spent raising money for Israel, Michael Barzilay will return home at the end of April and start work on May 1 in the newly-created post of executive vice-chairman of the board of governors of Ben-Gurion University.

For the past eight years, he has been European director of the State of Israel Bonds, based in Paris for all but the last year, since the office moved to London. In that time, he has seen the sale of Bonds in Europe rocket from about \$8 million worth a year to last year's total of \$34m. There are Bonds offices in a dozen European countries, the best sellers being France — with the largest West European Jewish population of 700,000 — and surprisingly, West Germany. There, with only 30,000 Jews at most, many of the sales are to non-Jews.

Throughout Europe, about half the Bonds are sold to non-Jews. The biggest sale Barzilay ever made was to a West German bank, with no Jewish interest.

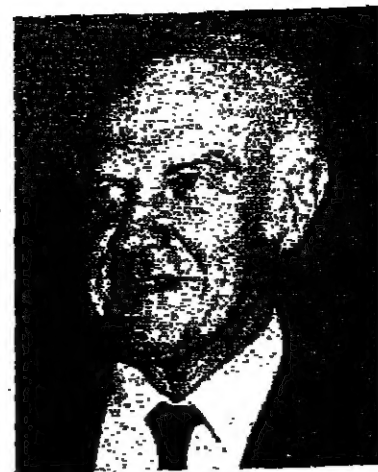
## Assets of Mivtahim pension fund now IS200 billion

BY PINHAS LANDAU

TEL AVIV. — The total assets accumulated in the Mivtahim pension fund reached IS200 billion in 1983, an increase of 197 per cent over the previous year. Mivtahim is managed by the Histadrut and is by far the largest pension fund in the country.

These figures were released by managing director Amos Eran, at a meeting of the fund's management here to discuss Mivtahim's 1984 budget. He stressed the advances made in computerising the fund's accounting and announced the setting-up of a high level team to plan Mivtahim's computer network into the 1990s.

Eran noted that last year the fund collected IS14.3b. from and on behalf of its almost 400,000 members. This compares with IS5.6b. in 1982. Sums accruing this year are expected to reach IS40b. and expenses to amount to IS1b. Some 34,000 persons presently receive their pensions from the fund.



Michael Barzilay

Sales of Bonds in Britain are running at about \$3m. a year — not a bad figure considering that the operation could not begin here until three years ago because of currency regulations.

Barzilay believes that "sooner or later Britain will produce Bonds sales totalling at least as much as all the other countries in Europe put together." British Jewry is the second-largest fund-raiser for Israel, after America, and Barzilay sees no reason why it should not also become the second-largest buyer of Bonds.

Before joining the Bonds organisation in 1976 Barzilay ran the Keren Hayesod campaign in Britain. He helped to make it not only a huge source of income for Israel but also a dynamic force in the Jewish community here.

Barzilay, who was born in a part of Hungary which later became Rumania, came to Palestine in 1943 as commander of a ship that had to break through a German blockade and, closer to its destination, a British one. In the early 1950s he was overseas director of the Keren Hayesod, but based in Jerusalem.

Tall, well-built — he was once a physical training instructor — Barzilay looks at least ten years younger than 68. For the first time for many years, fund-raising will not be his role. He sees it more as a public relations job, "bringing Israel and the rest of the world to Beersheba and bringing Beersheba to the world."

## Reduced tax revenue due to drop in business profits

By MACABEE DEAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — "Net after-tax profits, adjusted for inflation, will be very low, if they exist at all, in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1984." This is one of the preliminary findings of a study now being completed by Euroteam financial consultants.

Low profits are the main reason that business companies are now paying so little income tax, the study said, rejecting the widely-held view that the new law dealing with taxes in inflationary times was so complicated that companies found ample excuses for not paying the proper amount.

One main reason for low profits is that companies have been breaking even or losing money for years. The new law simply protects their capital which formerly had been eroded due to the tax system, and little is left as true profit.

Another reason is that 1983/84, fiscal year was simply a bad year for

business. There was a recession in October, November and December as a result of the collapse of the commercial bank shares. People simply stopped buying at the former pace.

Moreover, inflation makes it very difficult to run a business efficiently. If prices are not raised in time, if income is not deposited immediately, if available cash is not invested right away, considerable losses can occur.

And a final important cause for low profits in 1983/84 is that the investments of many companies were hard hit. Companies held monies earmarked for expansion in index-linked bonds, in mutual funds, in foreign currencies and in bank shares. With the exception of the American dollar, all these investments led to substantial losses.

Euroteam estimates that the companies held at least \$700 million in commercial bank shares. "And all these investment losses have to be written off, and the net result is simply much lower profits."

## Call by Meshel to 'pull together'

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Histadrut Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel criticized the lack of cooperation between the various Hevrat Ha'Ovdim branches at a meeting of the organization's secretariat on Monday night. In the present period of economic crisis, companies such as Solel Boneh and Shikun Ovdim should pull together to further the socio-economic aims of the workers' movement, Meshel said.

"The welfare of a Hevrat Ha'Ovdim worker must be better than that of a worker in any other industry — especially a government industry," he stressed.

Secretariat member Mohammed Ramal, a Druse, took the Hevrat Ha'Ovdim management to task for neglecting the Arab sector. Not one

Hevrat Ha'Ovdim factory has been built in an Arab village, he said, and the conditions imposed on investment in the Arab sector virtually excludes it from consideration.

In his reply, Hevrat Ha'Ovdim secretary Danny Rosolio warned the secretariat members against "self-delusion." Thirty-five projects were in the pipeline, he said, including 19 factories in development areas, among the Arab areas. The workers' economy will be the centre of attention in forthcoming elections, he said "because it is the only antithesis Likud economics."

BABIES. — The Sherman Fund Great Britain has contributed £250,000 to Aidin, the society help backward children, to be day-care centres in Netivot, Pet Tikva and Bat Yam.

## Tadiran's \$17m. Afula plant in operation

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Tadiran has invested \$17 million in setting up its Afula plant to make refrigerators, air-conditioners and telecommunication items, it was announced yesterday. The plant has now passed the running-in stage and employs 550 workers. It will employ several hundred more when it goes into full production late this summer.

Most of the employees are local residents. If three shifts are employed the plant (which occupies an area of 32,000 sq. m.) can produce 150,000 refrigerators and 100,000 air-conditioners in one year.

Most of the output is destined for export. At present about 60 per cent of the company's air-conditioners are exported, mainly to the U.S., Australia and South Africa.

## B-G Airport record seen

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The number of passengers passing through Ben-Gurion Airport before Pessah is expected to break all past records, an official there told The Jerusalem Post yesterday.

The peak in traffic is expected next weekend and during the following Sunday and Monday.

"The official noted that on the Sunday before Pessah eve last year there were 63 flights in and out of the airport. Schedules for this year indicate that there will be more than 70 flights in on that day.

## Flood of S. Korean tourists expected

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — In less than five years Israel will be flooded with tourists from South Korea, according to Reverend Paul Yonggi Cho, head of the South Korean-based Church Growth International.

Cho, who is here on a week-long pilgrimage, believes that Israel will become the major tourist destination of South Korean tourists. His visit to the Holy Places is being filmed by three television crews and will be broadcast by over 100 T.V. stations in Korea, Japan and the U.S.

With over 400,000 members of its own Church Growth International is also an inter-denominational

umbrella body for churches around the world. South Korea's 10 million Christians, out of a total population of 40 million are all prospective pilgrims to Israel.

Church Growth International considers holding its 1985 annual conference in Jerusalem. Cho said, and he will look into the matter while he is here. There are also plans to broadcast a TV programme from Nazareth on Christmas.

Shmuel Marom, of Unifours, the official agent for Cho's trip to Israel, also believes that Korea is a ripe tourist market. In 1983, over 1,000 South Koreans visited Israel through his company, he said, and a number of travel agents are active in Seoul representing Israeli tour operators.

## Financial boost to tourism marketing

By HAIM SHAPIRO

The Government Tourist Corporation (GTC), which primarily gives loans for the building of hotels, is now for the first time to invest in a tourism marketing company.

The participation was approved yesterday by the corporation's board of directors. "It is in keeping with the belief of GTC director-general Shlomo Tal, that massive steps are needed to encourage increased tourism. If not for these additional measures, Tal thinks, the hotels will be unable to repay their loans to the corporation."

However, participation by the government corporation in the new

marketing company will be limited to between 10 and 20 per cent of the total investment, with other tourist firms investing the remainder. According to Tal the GTC is to act as a catalyst, bringing in other investors.

He also stressed that the GTC reserves the right to sell its shares, if the new firm deviated from its projected aim — which is to develop new sources of tourism, rather than compete for the existing market.

## Ezer Weizman resigns from Galil Technologies board

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Galil Technologies announced yesterday that Ezer Weizman had resigned his positions as chairman of the board of manage-

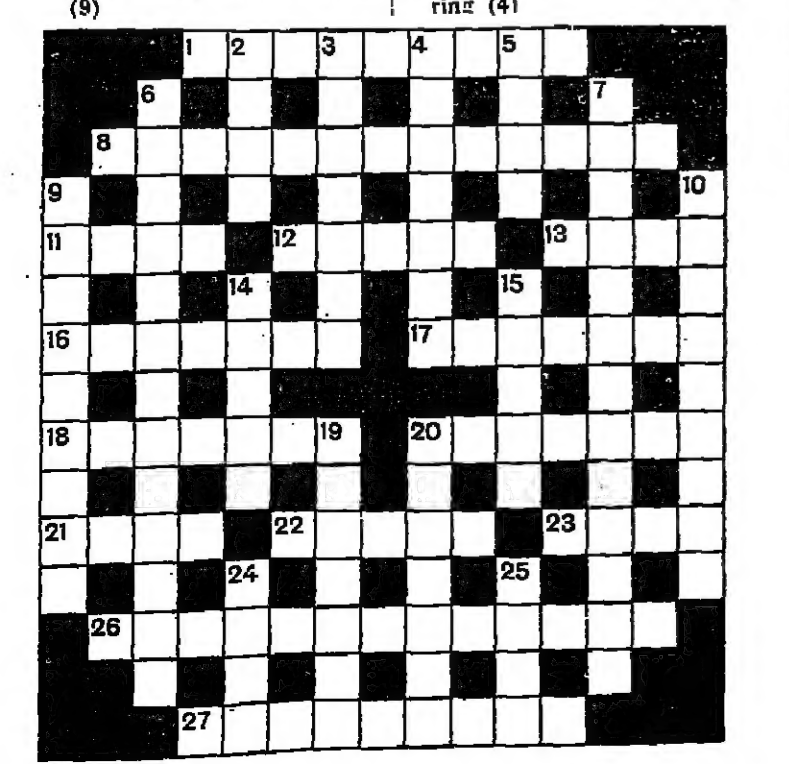
ment and member of the board of directors of the company.

The company said that Prof. Haim Ben-Shahar had been appointed to fill the positions.



## ONE-AND-ONE CROSSWORD

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ACROSS   | DOWN  |
| 1 Neat design by maritime engineers? (9)                       | 2 Part of a body or one of a body of workers (4)                                  |
| 8 They are used for sinking lodesome pits maybe (8, 5)         | 3 What quarrellers should do if they get needed (5, 2)                            |
| 11 Type of knot from which one could wriggle free (4)          | 4 Cut up rough since the old nag has started (4, 3)                               |
| 12 What both cameramen and actors do in gangster films (5)     | 5 Anxious when father's in (4)  |
| 13 Fireman's appliance which can be ruined by ladders (4)      | 6 Link for the Gunga Din corps (5, 8)   |
| 16 Argon used with 150 amp spot-light (3-4)                    | 7 Pole sending sonic blast, without which the pitched battle cannot be won (6, 7) |
| 17 Sink the one who first sunk capital (7)                     | 9 Analyse a mental collapse (5, 4)  |
| 18 A sweetheart's saving Grace (7)                             | 10 Newspapers generally are indeed in an unhappy state (5)                        |
| 20 Gin cocktail in tins administered to unruly schoolboys? (7) | 14 Mad chap in charge (5)   |
| 21 Orphan joining West Australia conditionally (4)             | 15 Fiery poet (5)   |
| 22 Kitchen vessels used for game with greens (5)               | 19 Confoundingly rough CO. that chap they called Marx (7)                         |
| 23 Excellent option for 'he guilty' (4)                        | 20 Saint who replaced foot of column by some degree (7)                           |
| 26 Push-button war. us paper war? (5, 8)                       | 24 Was his mess of pottage taken from the saucepan? (4)                           |
| 27 Salad vegetable swallowed by a United Nations zombie (9)    | 25 To cook it turn up the gas ring (4)  |



## GENERAL ASSISTANCE

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|--|--|
| <b>EMERGENCY PHARMACIES</b><br>Jerusalem: Asher, K. Yovel Commercial Centre, 41841, Baitan, Salah Eddin, 27215.<br>Shu'alai, Shu'alai Road, 810108, Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 382058.<br>Tel Aviv: Arlosoroff, 76 Arlosoroff, 33046.<br>Kupat Holim Chai, 7 Amsterdam, 225142.<br>Petah Tikva: not available.<br>Netanya: Hadassah, 24 Herzl, 22243.<br>Haifa: Yavne, 7 Ibn-Sina, 67288, Harman, Modi'in Lane, K. Motzkin, 715136.<br><br><b>DUTY HOSPITALS</b><br>Jerusalem: (ophthalmology): Bikur Holim (pediatrics), Hadassah Ein Kerem (internal, gynecology, E.N.T.), Hadassah Mount Scopus (orthopedics).<br>Tel Aviv: Rokeh (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery).<br>Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology, surgery).<br><br><b>FLIGHTS</b><br>24-HOURS FLIGHT INFORMATION SERVICE<br>Call 03-972484 (multi-line)<br>ARRIVALS ONLY (TAPED MESSAGE)<br>03-381111 (20 lines)<br><br><b>QUICK CROSSWORD</b><br>7 Quarters<br>8 Craftsman<br>10 Withdraw<br>11 Suiting fabric<br>12 Require<br><br>13 Young mare<br>17 Shellfish<br>18 Waistcoat<br>22 Italian food<br>23 Tremble violently<br>24 Editorial<br>25 Brief look<br><br><b>DOWN</b><br>1 Insult<br>2 One who gives up<br>3 Summer ermine<br>4 Easily snapped<br>5 Once more<br>6 Twig<br>9 Unblemished<br>14 Wool clipper<br>15 Marriage<br>16 First course<br>91 poet<br>20 Hollywood award<br>21 Bed cover | <b>FIRST AID</b><br>Magen David Adom emergency phone numbers (round the clock service).<br>Ashdod 41332<br>Ashkelon 23333<br>Bat Yam 585555<br>Beer Sheva 78333<br>Carmiel 985555<br>Peta Tikva 9031111<br>Dan Region 781111<br>Eilat 72333<br>Hadera 22333<br>Haifa 512233<br>Safed 30333<br>Hazon 36133<br>Holon 80133<br><br>Jerusalem 523133<br>Kiryat Shmona 44334<br>Nahariya 923333<br>Netanya 923333<br>Petah Tikva 9031111<br>Rehovot 51333<br>Rishon LeZion 943333<br>Safed 30333<br>Tel Aviv 230111<br>Tiberias 90111<br><br>*Mobile Intensive Care Unit (MICU) service in the area round the clock.<br>101 Emergency phone number in most areas.<br>Jerusalem Center for Drug Abuse and Misuse Intervention, Tel. 963823, 663902.<br>14 Besh Lehem Rd.<br><br>*Eran — Mental Health First Aid, Tel. Jerusalem 669111, Tel Aviv 253311, Haifa 336 888, Beersheva 48111, Netanya 35316.<br>Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv, 234819, Jerusalem — 518110, and Haifa 88791. |
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**DOWN**

1 Insult, 2 One who gives up, 3 Summer ermine, 4 Easily snapped, 5 Once more, 6 Twig, 9 Unblemished, 14 Wool clipper, 15 Marriage, 16 First course, 91 poet, 20 Hollywood award, 21 Bed cover.

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